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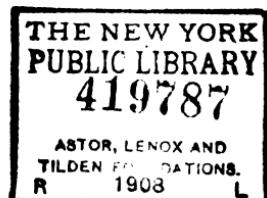
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THE OLYMPIAN COUNCIL HOUSE AND COUNCIL

By LOUIS DYER

I

THE OLYMPIAN COUNCIL HOUSE

NO room now remains, I think, for Mr. Frazer's doubt as to where on the Olympian site lay the session-house of the Olympic Council.¹ Its very conspicuous remains lie rather further south of the original south wall of the Altis than the distance between that wall itself and the temple of Zeus just north of it. These tripartite foundations and their superstructure were at all periods outside of the sacred precinct. For when the Romans, superseding the Hellenic south boundary wall (which ran due east and west), annexed to that precinct on the south an irregular trapezium, their new southwesterly wall was so aligned to the north wall of the northern apsidal wing of the Council House as to incorporate it. All three parts of the Council House still remained as before on unconsecrated ground,—so far as that designation can apply to any ground in such immediate proximity to the Sacred Grove.

Pausanias makes but three allusions to the Council House as a whole,² all of them in the four chapters (5, 21, 2-24, 11) in which are enumerated the more conspicuous statues of Zeus that stood in the open.

¹ See Messrs. Hitzig and Blümner's note (1901) on Paus. 5, 23, 1: "It is universally taken as proved that the Council House mentioned here and below (24, 1 and 8), as well as by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7, 4, 31), is the fabric located on the south just outside of the Altis, and consisting of two apsidal wings, the apses being at the west end and having respectively as their eastward continuations, long and approximately rectangular halls,—these apsidal wings being so disposed as to flank an intervening square hall with which they have in common the continuous front colonnade ending the whole building toward the east." See Dr. Dörpfeld's identification (*Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, IV, pp. 40-46, with plates I-III and XXXV ff., 1879; *Olympia, die Ergebnisse, etc.*, Text II, pp. 76-79, with plates LV-LVIII, 1892, and *ib.*, Text I, pp. 85 ff., 1897).

² His reference (5, 15, 4) to the *προεδρία* is to the south apsidal wing of the Council House.

These statues, — not counting the Zanes¹ passed in review on his way from the Metroum along the front of the terrace of the treasuries, — he saw in six regions: ² (a) that of the Stadium Entrance,³ (b) that of the Hippodameum,⁴ (c) that in front of the great temple of Zeus,⁵ (d) that

¹ Made with the proceeds of fines, the Zanes were set up after Ol. 97 along the bottom step of the flight leading up to the treasuries. The westernmost of these archaic bronze statues is represented by remains, now visible *in situ* just in front of the Byzantines' House, of the footing of its pedestal. Other Zanes stood in front of and below the Houses of the Sybarites, the Cyrenaens, the Selinuntines, and the Metapontines respectively. Here are two groups of six each. The five Zanes mentioned after these twelve are fairly in the region of the Stadium Entrance.

² Six *regions*, not six groups of statues: region (a), entered after Pausanias had passed the first twelve Zanes, contained the last five Zanes (5, 21, 8-17) and the first of the twenty-three statues next enumerated, and freely dedicated by public or private devotion (5, 22, 1: ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρθίστα λεωφῶν); region (b) contained only one, — the second of the twenty-three (*ib.* 2 f.); region (c) contained the third, fourth, and fifth (*ib.* 5 ff.); region (d) contained the sixth uninscribed and the seventh (*ib.* 23, 1); region (e) contained the eighth (Megara) votive Zeus, — located (*ib.* 5 and 6) with the ninth (Hybla) by proximity to Gelo's chariot, — the tenth (Clitor), eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth (Psophis) (*ib.* 23, 6 and 24, 2); the last region (f) contained the fourteenth to twenty-second, — the fourteenth (Lacedemonians) being located (24, 6 f.) north of Libon's temple, the twenty-second far north of the same temple on the western wall of the Altis. The twenty-third (5, 24, 11) was a statue of Alexander as Zeus, and belongs probably in region (f).

³ Paus. 5, 21, 8-22, 1. Upon the five Zanes follows, still in region (a) of the Stadium Entrance, although in reality a good distance south of the last of the Zanes, and beyond the trumpeters' tribune (a platform over 60 feet long, built in front of the Echo Colonnade), a statue of Zeus wielding the thunderbolt in either hand and dedicated by the Arcadians of Cinaetha.

⁴ *Ib.* 22, 2 f. Region (b) can only be located by an attempt to locate the Hippodameum, — a highly debatable matter (Frazer, III, p. 490, plan; Dr. Dörpfeld, *Ol.* Text I, p. 85; Hitzig-Blümner, note on Paus. 5, 22, 2). Renouncing all attempt at precision, one may safely imagine it as lying in front of the Southeast Building at some point south by west of the Echo Colonnade. Leaving the tribune of the trumpeters and the votive Zeus from Arcadian Cinaetha, Pausanias, still moving southward, comes upon the votive group by Myron's son Lycus, a dedication of the Apollonians; in this group was Zeus, besought by the rival prayers of Thetis and Eos (Hemera) while Achilles and Memnon joined in the fray. Fragments of the semi-circular pedestal with Memnon's name inscribed have been recovered from walls in the Heraeum (Dr. Dörpfeld, *Ol.* Text I, p. 86; Dr. Purgold, *ib.* V, No. 692).

⁵ *Ib.* 22, 5 ff. The only indication that Pausanias now proceeds into region (c) is given in the words προελθόντι δὲ δλίγον Ζεύς ἐστι πρὸς ἀνταχοντα τετραμμένον τὸν

of the Council House,¹ (*e*) that lying southeast and south,² and (*f*) that lying northeast and north of the great temple just mentioned.³ The road followed by Pausanias in this review of votive statues of Zeus is by no means free from the uncertainties involved in all our writer's allusions to the Hippodameum, nor are several other doubtful points cleared up. Nevertheless, discounting all this, and depending solely on unequivocally ascertained facts that have emerged, Pausanias' reader can be certain that the continuous direction followed by our traveller was southward until he reached the Council House and there turned to the right. So far, therefore, as the evidence of Pausanias goes, there is

ἢλων. Since his course has been southward ever since he saw the last of the Zanes at the northwestern corner of the Echo Colonnade, his direction can only have been southward when, passing the Hippodameum (on his left) he entered region (*c*) and saw this crowned image of Zeus, with the eagle in one hand and the thunderbolt in the other, a dedication of the Metapontines made by the Aeginetan sculptor Ariston. It seems likely that this statue stood somewhere on the terrace of the great temple, east of its eastern face. Alongside of it or not far away was the Phliasian group, as well as a Zeus dedicated by private citizens of Sicilian Leontini.

¹ *Ib.* 23, 1. Pausanias has now seen five statues of Zeus in the open (not counting the seventeen Zanes). He evidently is still moving southward, on a line considerably to the east of the east front of the great temple. His entrance into region (*d*) is marked by the words: *παρέιντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ βουλευτήρων έσοδον, Ζεύς τε ἐστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδέν.* To reach this uninscribed statue,—it was not far from the square central chamber of the Council House flanked north and south by the north and south apsidal wings (Paus. 5, 24, 9),—he must have proceeded a good distance southward from (*c*), and have reached, after crossing the south terrace wall (in Hellenic days the south wall of the Altis), the postern gate in the Roman south wall of the Altis leading into the north end of the front colonnade of the Council House. Just east (and a little south) of this postern gate he saw the uninscribed statue as above. Then he turned quite around and went back northward (*καὶ αὖθις ως πρὸς δρότον ἐπιστρέψας θυατία ἔστι Διός*). Thus our traveller reached the Zeus offered by the survivors of Plataea. The exact location of the Plataean statue is determined by that of its pedestal, identified by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Ol. Text I*, p. 86) in connexion with the pedestal of Cleosthenes and Gelo (Paus. 6, 10, 6 f. and 9, 4).

² *Ib.* 23, 5-24, 1 *init.* Having seen two statues in region (*d*), Pausanias now sees four in region (*e*).

³ *Ib.* 24, 1 *ad fin.-8).* Pausanias marks his entrance into region (*f*) by recalling the fact that he is on his way from the Council House along past the great temple north and northeast of which he finds nine votive open air statues of Zeus, not counting a tenth which really represented Alexander the Great.

no shadow of reasonable doubt that the Council House was located southeast of the great temple.

Having disposed of the grounds¹ for doubting the identification with the Olympian Council House of the foundations southeast of Libon's temple, one may note at Eleusis, on the verge of the inner precinct, remains somewhat analogous in plan to these Olympian relics, and also identified as the Council House. At Eleusis the indications are of an elliptical building flanked by two square wings. At Olympia there are two apsidal wings, — one only being elliptical, — flanking a square hall. The Eleusinian Council House dates from the late fourth or early third century B.C., whereas the one at Olympia is much earlier. Its north wing dates from the middle of the sixth, its southern and elliptical wing from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. Its central hall is of later but indeterminate date.

II

THE NORTHWESTERN PELOPONNESUS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE OLYMPIC COUNCIL

Strabo (p. 336) says that the city-state, Elis, not only was not founded in Homer's day, but, — after some talk of the name Hollow Elis,

¹ Mr. Frazer's hesitation (*Pausanias* III, 636-640) in accepting even provisionally, — as he finally does, — Dr. Dörpfeld's southward location of the Council House certainly commands attention, so far as it is based on scruples as to Dr. Dörpfeld's interpretation (*Ol. Text II*, 78 f.) of Xen. *Hell.* 7, 4, 28-32. There mention is made (1) of the *βουλευτήριον*, (2) of the *δρόμος*, (3) of the *θέατρον* at Olympia. Since (2) means the Stadium, it is in the last degree improbable that (3), occurring only five sentences later, should also mean the Stadium, however possible it may be that *θέατρον* in a different context should have such a meaning. I hope, — with the aid of Mr. E. Norman Gardiner who has independently arrived at the same conclusion, — to prove elsewhere that Xenophon's mention of the Olympian *θέατρον* designates the extensive flight of nine steps built not later than 450 B.C. and extending across the whole side of the Altis from the shrine of Hestia to a point opposite the Council House. These steps are the only feature of the site which can be alluded to by Xenophon's words *τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θέατρου*, and in them Olympia had, before the *δρόμος* or earlier Stadium was made, something remotely analogous to the Minoan theatrical area of Hagia Triada or Cnossus. There is no *λόβηθον* in the Altis for Xenophon's tug of war except the open treeless triangular area between these tiers of steps and the Council House.

— he says of the Eleans, “They were late in combining to frame the existing city-state of Elis, which dates from after the Persian wars” (*όψε δέ ποτε συνήλθον εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Περσικά*). Furthermore, it is a fact well vouched for that the funds for building Libon's temple at Olympia were derived from spoils taken from recalcitrant village-communities, chiefly in Triphylia, but also in Pisatis strictly so-called, and that in the warfare involved the ancient village centre of Pisa was chief among the sufferers. The building of the north apsidal wing of the Olympian Council House took place, according to the affinities of its not very plentiful recovered remains, more than half a century before the synoecism of Elis, and before the Eleans devastated Triphylia and Pisatis. The south wing, on the other hand, was certainly not built until the already consolidated Eleans had wrested the where-withal from the plundered tribe-centres of Triphylia and Pisatis, since the date required by its recovered architectural features is practically that of Libon's great temple. What was the date of the campaign that paid alike for the great temple of Zeus and for the new Council House wing? It certainly cannot be fixed on the authority of Pausanias, for in two passages he dates it at the end of the sixth, or early in the fifth century B.C., while in a third mention of it he more or less definitely fixes it a century earlier.¹ Fortunately, Herodotus mentions the same

¹ Pausanias (5, 10, 2) says of Libon's temple: ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἡγικα Πίσαοι οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ δοὺς τῶν περιοικῶν ἀλλο συναπέστη Πισαῖοι πολέμῳ καθεῖλον. This statement hardly commits Pausanias to a date for the spoliation of Pisa which shall not be far removed from 500 B.C., but the architectural forms and sculptured decorations of Libon's temple certainly require us to date its building not later than 450 B.C. But Pausanias makes another statement committing himself to the date first named above without forcing us to depend exclusively upon expert evidence as to the architecture of Libon's temple. He says (5, 6, 4), referring to the same war as *the* war (which means that there was but one war involving destruction to Pisa), ἐπὶ δὲ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἡλεῖον ἐπικούροι τε Πισαῖοι οἱ Σκιλλούντοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῦς Ἡλεῖοι ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τούτων ἐνεκα ἐποιησαν ἀναστάτους. He then proceeds to say that later on (ὑστερον) the Lacedemonians severed (ἀποτεμένοι) Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon. This *ὑστερον* is vague but suggests that the entire destruction by Elis of Scillus was not an event of remote antiquity, but rather one vaguely contemporary with Xenophon's earlier career or with events of the generation preceding his birth. When, however, we turn to Pausanias' third mention (6, 22, 4) of this same war—it must be the same since it concludes with the words: Πισαῖοι μὲν δὴ καὶ δοὺς τοῦ

war as having occurred in his own time, *ἐπ' ἐμό*.¹ In spite of the vagueness of his phrase, Herodotus is here fixing this war as recently terminated when he visited Sparta, Ol. 78 (468–65 B.C.). We may, then, conclude that this internecine struggle probably occupied the Eleans during the 77th Olympiad, at the end of which it was certainly terminated. This conclusion is safe, although Strabo² dates it after the

πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον, ἐπέλαβεν διαστάτους ὑπὸ Ἡλείων γενέσθαι—we find him dating it in the reign of Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleon and brother to Damophon, whom he succeeded. Pausanias says that Damophon provoked the suspicion of the Eleans, who therefore invaded his domain in the 48th Olympiad. Damophon's entreaties and assurances under oath so mollified the Eleans on this occasion that they withdrew. But under Pyrrhus, Damophon's successor, says Pausanias: *Πισαῖοι πόλεμοι ἐκούσιοι ἐπανελούστο Ἡλεῖοι, συναπέστησαν δέ σφισιν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων Μάκιστοι καὶ Σκιλλοβούτιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων περιοικῶν Δυσπεπτοι*. The result was the devastation of Pisa and Scillus already described. This commits Pausanias to a date far earlier than can be reconciled with his two previous allusions to the same events. The reign of Pyrrhus must have fallen within 30 or 40 years of that of Damophon, king of Pisa (according to this Elean tale of Pausanias) in the 48th Olympiad (588–85 B.C.). But this whole tale is discredited by its utter lack of circumstantiality or plausibility.

¹ Speaking (4, 148) of the Minya and their settlement among the Paroreatae, in the mountainous debatable land between southwestern Arcada and Triphylia, he alludes to their Triphylian settlement as follows: *καὶ ξειτα ἔκτισαν τόλμας τάσδε ἐν αἰτοῖσι, Δέπτεον, Μάκιστον, Φρέξα, Πύργον, Ἐπιον, Νούδιον· τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμό* Ἡλεῖοι, *ἐπέρθησαν*. Vague though the indication of *ἐπ' ἐμό* may in itself be accounted, it at least disposes of the earlier date of Pausanias (6, 22, 3 f.), and is in harmony with the still vaguer date of Pausanias elsewhere implied (5, 6, 4 and 10, 2). Dahlmann (*Herod.*, p. 58) long since pointed out that this *ἐπ' ἐμό* commits Herodotus to one of two dates, (*a*) the 78th Olympiad, when he apparently visited the Peloponnesus, or (*b*) the period, sometime before the 84th Olympiad, when he was writing his history at Thurii. No convincing arguments favour (*b*), but in his note on *Hdt.* 4, 148, Dr. R. W. Macan goes far toward establishing (*a*), where he says of the Elean raid that it would hardly have been noted by Herodotus if it had been an old story when he visited Sparta.

² It is not a little discomposing to see what weight so judicious a scholar as Dr. Flasch (Baumeister, *s. v.* Olympia, p. 1100) contrives to give to the testimony of Strabo in a matter where the contemporary evidence of Herodotus is available. After all Strabo's evidence is by no means unambiguous; cf. p. 355: *ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γε συνέπραξαν (sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Ἡλεῖοις) ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν τὴν μέχρι Μεσσήνης Ἡλεῖαν ἥπθηναι καὶ διαμείναι μέχρι νῦν, Πισάτων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Καυκάνων μηδ' ὀνομα λειφθῆναι*. The date of this Spartan co-operation we must suppose to be determined by Strabo's statement immediately preceding that it was

third, which he is rather inclined to think was the fourth, Messenian war.

This confusion of dates in Strabo and Pausanias undoubtedly results from a confusion in their sources of information, and, so far as their testimony traverses that of Herodotus, these authors were unquestionably befogged by the pious frauds of those Eleans responsible for what Pausanias calls *'Ηλείων ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*. In these *ex parte* documents interpolations were made conveying an impression, not shared outside of Elis, that the Olympian presidency had belonged from the first to the Eleans. Hence Pausanias' animadversions upon the *πόλεμος ἔκοντος* levied in the 48th Olympiad by the Pisatans, and the thoroughly absurd account of the entreaties and assurances under oath whereby Damophon evaded just chastisement. In Ol. 75 the management of the sanctuary as well as of the games still lacked effective discipline, in spite of the increased efficiency implied in the building (*ca. 550 B.C.*) of the north wing of the Council House and required by the efflorescence of athletic interest throughout Greece during the sixth century. The Olympia were carried on by Eleans and Pisatans as informally as was compatible with their growing popularity and the consequently increased resort to them. The Eleans, shamed on the field of Plataea, sought greater efficiency by their synoecism at home, and at Olympia strove for the same by a reconstitution of the board of the Hellanodicae. To ensure practical and methodical administration, the Eleans also provided business quarters in their newly constituted *πόλις*, — a colonnade on the market place where the new officers spent ten months of the year in learning their duties, — and they also enlarged accommodations at Olympia by building the south wing of the Council House, — the *προεδρία*, — where the Hellanodicae transacted business on the eve of and during the festival. This Proedria

μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων. So far everything is clear; but when we question Strabo closely as to how many Messenian wars the Spartans waged and as to when was this *ἐσχάτη κατάλυσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων*, we get from him the identical conclusion which anyone can derive to-day without Strabo from far older authorities. See p. 362, where Strabo abounds in detailed minutiae of the first two Messenian wars, confuses the second with the third while elaborately distinguishing between them, and then winds up by saying: *τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον συστήναται φασιν, ἐν ᾧ κατελίθησαν οἱ Μεσσηνοι.*

they erected just before Libon's temple was built. But, before they won the wherewithal to build either, they had first to overcome the primeval inertia of the stubborn Arcadian stock peopling Pisatis and Triphylia. The resulting civil war, in which Elis was victorious, provided the Eleans at once with the means wherewith to build, and the enhanced authority demanded by their new policy. The synoecism of Elis, and the reconstitution of the board of the Hellanodicae formed congruous parts of a well-conceived policy of reform and efficiency. The changes proposed at Olympia could not be carried through without the war which devastated Triphylia and Pisatis.

Postponing proofs and details regarding these Elean reforms, let us now consider the situation at Olympia in the days preceding these reforms, prior, that is, to Ol. 76. Such organised administration as there was centred unquestionably in the Prytaneum and the north wing of the Council House. Where the Eleans afterwards built Libon's great temple stood that ancient grove of sacred oleasters which has been coming to life again during the last twenty years. The Geloans, the Metapontines, the Megarians, the Cyrenaeans, the Sybarites, the Byzantines, the Selinuntines, and the Epidamnians had successively built for themselves communal houses or "treasuries" all along the terrace between the Stadium and the Heraeum. That three new communal houses were added after Ol. 75 is not certain, but probable. One of them, the Syracusans', had irresistible Pan-hellenic claims upon the site; another, the Sicyonians', was almost undoubtedly put up in place of a far more ancient structure. Of the third, possibly built by the Samians, little or nothing has been recovered to establish the date. Thus the persistency with which Greeks from abroad continued during the sixth century to make themselves at home on the Altis involves a transition stage when the administration, though far stricter than that of a countryside festival, was not yet finally centralized. The new and efficient Elean policy inaugurated in Ol. 76 evidently discouraged such volunteer additions to the accommodations of the site. With their new temple and their new wing for the Council House, the Eleans also built the earlier or "painted" Colonnade, and the *δρόμος* or earlier Stadium for the convenience indiscriminately of all frequenters of the festival. In fact they assumed and monopolized administrative responsibilities not dreamt of in the Pisatan philosophy.

The Heraeum belonged *par excellence* to the old Olympian order. It was not — on their own showing, — built by the Eleans, but by the Scilluntines “about eight years,” say the *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* of the Eleans, “after Oxylus became king in Elis.” This confirms one in the idea that the predominance of the Eleans in early days (including the sixth century) was by no means what it was after Ol. 75. Indeed we have only their own retrospectively coloured statements to persuade us of the contrary. Up to the 75th Olympiad there were, as I shall strive to make out later, only two Hellanodicae, who were the *πρόεδροι* of the Olympic Council, and represented Elis and Pisatis, Aetolo-Eleans and pre-Dorians, respectively. Reduced by interloping Aetolians to share in later days his prerogative with a colleague, the Pisatan Hellanodicas originally created and controlled the games.

This is but putting bluntly a tradition perplexing to Strabo. This indefatigable researcher was much exercised by contradictory accounts. One of these, — contrary no doubt to the Elean *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* dear alike to our geographer and to Pausanias, — insisted that Homer was alluding to what was the prototype of the Olympian games, when he spoke (*Il. 11, 699-702*) of the four *ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι* sent by Neleus to Augeas “chariot and all” (*αὐτοῖσιν ὅχεσφιν*) to race for a tripod. Augeas, however, not alive to international responsibilities, appropriated the horses and sent Neleus’ charioteer back to him with a wry face (*ἀκαχημένον*). Those who connected this “regrettable incident” with early games at Olympia also maintained, Strabo further says (p. 355), that the Pisatans had no share in the Trojan war because they were accounted sacrosanct in the service of Zeus (*φασὶ δὲ τὸν Πισάτας μὴ μετασχεῖν τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου ἵεροὺς νομισθέντας τοῦ Διός*). Augeas, in this whole view of the matter, figures as a Pisatan. Indeed the Epeans, whose king he was, count as Pisatans or pre-Dorians quite as frequently as they count as Eleans. According to this traditional view, the games at Olympia had a pre-Dorian origin, and the Eleans at Olympia were but forceful and clever *parvenus*.

Remembering the Scilluntines as, by confession of the Eleans, the builders of the most ancient temple at Olympia (the Heraeum), recalling that the oldest precincts within the Olympian grove were those of Pelops and of Hippodamia, figures which have no Aetolian affinities whatever, and noting that the dilapidated house of Oenomaus (the

Pisatan king) focussed the curiosity of tourists at Olympia (even in Pausanias' day, when it was reduced to the decaying relics of one solitary wooden column), one can but be surprised that the pre-Dorian origin of Olympian observance should ever have been doubted. Now that such enormous masses of rude votive bronzes and terracottas have been unearthed, all possibility of doubt has surely disappeared. It is, therefore, with no surprise that we stumble upon sure indications that the men of Lepreum, who always claimed to be Arcadians, and constantly resisted the pretensions of Elis, took a leading part in the early Olympia, when the Eleans were there as yet more or less on sufferance. All this lies wrapped up in Pausanias' account of why the Lepreatae, being subject to the Eleans, were free to enter the Isthmia, and the latter were rigorously excluded. This was due to the curse of Moline. Everyone agreed to that. But there were various and very confused versions of Moline's curse, and of the consequent excommunication of the Eleans at Corinth. The Eleans made it out to be a self-denying ordinance. The Corinthians in ancient days had refused to exclude the Argives, responsible for Heracles who murdered the Moliones, when these gigantic twins were on their way to Corinth as Elean theôrs to the Isthmia. Consequently Moline laid her curse on any Elean who should henceforward enter the Isthmian lists. No doubt, as energetic promoters of the festival at Olympia, where they had won the upper hand, the Eleans in later days found it suited their policy to abstain from the rival Corinthian festival. It is obvious, however, that in the sixth century and earlier their case was different. Then they only shared the regulation of the Olympia with the Pisatae, and would doubtless have been glad enough, but for some compulsion put upon them, to enter the Isthmian lists. The legend of the curse of Moline is, then, as I have argued at length elsewhere,¹ an echo reverberating in distorted and enigmatical tones from pre-Dorian days,² when the Lepreatae were of

¹ "The Curse of Moline," a paper read before the Oxford Society of Historical Theology in June, 1906, and summarized in the published proceedings of 1905-06.

² Something analogous to the *tabu* of primitive culture unquestionably underlies the curse of Moline as well as the curse of Oenomaus, as recorded by Hdt. 4, 30. Such a primitive feature in the pre-Dorian world of the western Peloponnesus sorts well with the nomadic propensities revealed in the Nestorian legends embodied in the Homeric poems.

greater importance at Olympia than the Aetolo-Eleans. With Pisa and Scillus, Lepreum also stands out as having anciently belonged to a neighbourhood-group of pre-Dorian communities under whom the first beginnings of the Olympian festival took their rise. The Aetolo-Eleans were no doubt regarded by all these pre-Dorians as unsanctified to the service of the sacred grove, and unpleasing to the gods of the Altis, among whom no doubt were the heavenly twins, the Moliones. Hence the curse of Moline, the orthodox and aboriginal bearings of which, though irrecoverable in detail, can be sufficiently guessed for the purposes of the present argument. The Aetolo-Eleans, be it said, often figure as the antagonists of the worship of Poseidon, father to the Moliones and patron deity of the Corinthian Isthmia. On the other hand, although it cannot indeed be maintained that they were more intimately devoted than the Pisatans to the worship of Zeus, Pausanias¹ has preserved,—in the misleading Elean form, however, where Ἡλεῖοι stands for Pisatans or pre-Dorian inhabitants of Elis,—the tradition that the Aetolo-Elean Iphitus won over the inhabitants of Elis, who till then had regarded Heracles as an enemy, to the worship of the great Dorian protagonist, the slayer of the Moliones. Pausanias also records (5, 5, 3–6) the preceding stage of popular hostility to Heracles in his tragi-comic version of the Triphylian tale of Lepreus,—a grotesque popular hero pitted against Heracles. Both legends tell in favour of the explanation given above, of the curse of Moline.

All these considerations lend a new significance to Strabo's somewhat fragmentary account of the Pisatans as a combination of eight communities. Considering how closely the town or tribe centre,—which ever it was,—called Pisa was associated with Olympia, and the leadership implied in giving to this league of eight and the whole district the name of Pisa, one may take for granted that the Council² of this

¹ Cf. 5, 4, 6: ἔπεισε δὲ Ἰφίτος τοὺς Ἡλεῖούς καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θένει τὸ πρὸ τούτου πολέμιον σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντες.

² A festal combination of neighborhoods (*κοινόν* or *σύστημα*) required stated meetings of a common or league council; cf. Dionys. Halicarn. 4, 25, where a generalized description is given, ending καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς δλλήλους δμοφροσύνης κοινὸς ἐποιῶντο βουλᾶς. This doubtless was a looser form of combination than the consolidation of Attica attributed to Theseus, of whom Thucydides says (2, 15): καταλύτας τῶν δλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὐσαν ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδεῖξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνώκισε πάντας.

Pisatan league held its sessions at Olympia. This Pisatan league-council, then, modified by the intrusion of Aetolo-Elean members, and by the appointment of an Elean magnate to be one of its *πρόεδροι*, finally required for its sessions the north wing of the Olympian Council House, built in or about 550 B.C. The league itself evidently was so described by Strabo's authorities as to cause him no little perplexity. In giving (pp. 356 f.) what is a glimpse of the lower Alpheus valley in pre-Dorian times, he not only alludes to conflicting authorities (*νεώτεροι*), but also he talks of Augeas, Oenomaus, and Salmoneus as all equally kings over equally independent communities,¹ and then proceeds to record the existence of a league of eight Pisatan towns in connexion with the sanctuary at Olympia. Though bitterly lamenting the hopeless disagreement among Strabo's authorities, those who have at heart to-day the disentanglement of a few leading facts in the early annals of the northwestern Peloponnesus and Olympia must rejoice that this disagreement, lurking everywhere, was in this particular case so extreme as to extort a vigorous protest even from the indefatigable geographer. Here again we have reason to account for the conflict and confusion by reiterating the arraignment already made of the Elean *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*. In order to make good the sanction of their supremacy at Olympia, the Eleans evidently tampered with the facts as traditionally handed down. Chief among the objects they had at heart was the completest possible obliteration of any records of the ancient consequence and influence of Pisa at Olympia. Strabo, though momentarily bewildered, takes heart of grace and begins a list of eight confederated cities, among which he states, apparently on the authority of the *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*, that Pisa did not stand, (1) Salmone, (2) Heraclea (3) Harpina, (4) Cicysium, (5) Dyspontium.² Having gone so far, Strabo

¹ First he speaks of Oenomaus, and Pelops, and Salmoneus as kings in Pisatis, then after strictures on contradictory authorities (*δεῖ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν δκούειν οὐτως ὡς μὴ διολογουμένων σφέδρα· οἱ γὰρ νεώτεροι πολλὰ καινήσουσιν ὥστε καὶ τάνακτια λέγειν*), he speaks of Augeas as king of Pisatis, of Oenomaus and Salmoneus as kings of Elis, adding finally as if in despair: *Ἐνοι δὲ εἰς ταῦτα συνάγονται τὰ θερητικά*.

² Salmone, Heraclea, Harpina, and Dyspontium have all of them been quite definitely located, only Cicysium eludes all the efforts of topographers. Nor is the notion admissible that it stands for the equally elusive Pisa. Strabo says in so many words (p. 356) that Pisa was not one of the eight.

apparently yields to despair because of conflicting authorities. At all events he drops the subject, to which he never returns. He wanders off instead into a digression on Pholoe and the Arcado-Pisatan boundary-line. It is, however, certain that the text here has gone wrong, and in a clause of twenty words (which Strabo's editors have found as confusing as their author found his evidence, and have relegated to the margin), we find the name of Heraea, a place lying just over what was in later days the Pisatan boundary toward Arcadia, undoubtedly a sixth among the eight which Strabo was struggling to enumerate.¹ There is, in fact, quite apart from this debatable Strabonian text, good foundation for believing that Heraea was a member of the pre-Dorian neighbourhood or Amphictyonic league of Olympia and Pisatis. This consists in an inscription found at Olympia in 1818, and now in the British Museum. It is the record of a treaty between the Eleans and the Heraeans, dated about 580 B.C.² Heraea then may be added as a sixth to Strabo's list, from which we cannot exclude, although Strabo seems to have been far too seriously perplexed to mention them, (7) the Scilluntines, who built the Heraeum at Olympia,³ and (8) the Lepreatae, whose athletes,

¹ The obelized passage is bracketed in the following quotation of the full MSS. text (p. 357): *καὶ αὐτὴν (sc. Ἀρπινα) τῶν ὀκτώ, δὶς ἡς ρεῖ ποταμὸς Παρθενίας ὡς εἰς Ἡραίαν ἔρηταν· [ἥ δὲ Ἡραία ἔστι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Δυραιας καὶ Βουνησσού καὶ Ἡλιδος· ἀπέρ ἔστι πρὸς ὄρκτον τῇ Πισάτιδι.] αὐτοῦ δ' ἔστι καὶ τὸ Κικύσιον τῶν ὀκτώ καὶ τὸ Δυσπόντιον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐξ Ἡλιδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν.*

² See *Ol. Text V*, No. 9. Meister claims to make out in this, and one or two of the earliest Olympian inscriptions, traces of a distinctively Triphylian dialect slightly varying from the Elean. But this is a point in debate and the materials are scanty. The indications of a special relation between Heraea and the Olympian sanctuary are unmistakable in this document, since the Heraeans bind themselves, in case of bad faith, to pay a talent of silver to Olympian Zeus.

³ Pausanias 5, 16, 1: *λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ὡς Σκιλλούντιοι τῶν ἐν τῷ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεων εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασμένοι τὸν ναὸν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἡ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐν Ἡλιδι ἐκτήσατο Οξυλος.* An early inscription (*Ol. Text V*, No. 10) confirms the idea that Scillus was a flourishing community in early days, and records its relations not only with the Olympian sanctuary but also with Mantinea. Such at least is the interpretation of Blass. His reading of this much debated record makes of it a decree of the Scilluntines, still their own masters at home although distracted by factions. To alleviate these they called in Mantinean peacemakers. If the contention of this paper, that the campaign in which the Eleans devastated Pisatis and Triphylia, and destroyed Pisa and Scillus, cannot possibly be

even when Lepreum was subject to Elis, were free from the curse of Molino, and welcome as being of Arcadian stock¹ to enter the Isthmian lists.

But now that the eight centres, leagued at Olympia in pre-Dorian days, the members of the Pisatan Amphictyony in fact, have been enumerated, where does Pisa come in? Why should Strabo, as soon as he has declared that there were eight Pisatan cities, go out of his way (before naming any of them) to explain in an insinuating parenthesis that Pisa was not one of the eight, and then directly after quote the opinion of *τινὲς* who suggest that Pisa was very likely not a place

dated before Ol. 75, is established, then the only really serious objection to Blass' interpretation entirely vanishes. Scillus was destroyed after 480 B.C., the events narrated in this inscription happened after 570 B.C., and the inscription itself dates from about 530 B.C.

¹ Heraea and Lepreum being decidedly of Arcadian stock, the same was probably the case of Scillus, where recourse was had to the intervention of two Arcadians (Mantineans), called in to compose discords. Thus three of the eight constituent members of the Pisatan group of eight are pretty clearly of aboriginal Arcadian stock, and for this as well as for many other good reasons, it is fair to conclud that the five remaining members of the Olympian Amphictyony, Salmone, Heraclea, Harpina, Cicysium, and Dyspontium, were Arcadians also. Indeed the same may be and is said of Pisa itself; cf. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's *Heracles* p. 21, where he speaks of "Die arkadischen Pisaten." See also in the *Classical Review* (March, 1904) the summary of my paper on "Early Relations between Elis and Arcadia," read before the Oxford Philological Society, and subsequently given as a lecture at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (April, 1905). For the Lepreatae as Arcadians, see Pausanias 5, 5, 3: ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ Λεπρέαται μῆτρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἡλεῖων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δυτεῖς (note this statement which can only come from the ἀρχαῖα γράμματα of the Eleans since it conveys a flagrant historical falsehood which only an Elean could wish had been true) καὶ δοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν Ἡλεῖον ἐκ Λεπρέον σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνέπε. Cf. also Aristoph. *Birds* 149: τί οὐ τὸν Ἡλεῖον Δέπτεον οἰκίζετον ἐλθόνθ; The restiveness of Lepreum under Elean subjection is abundantly evident; cf. Paus. 4, 15, 8: Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ ηλθον . . . Λεπρέατων τινὲς κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Ἡλεῖων, and 3, 8, 3, where the Lacedaemonians require the Eleans Λεπρέατας τε αὐτοκύρους ἀφίεναι καὶ δοι τῶν περιοικῶν ἀλλοι σφίσιν ησαν ἵπτηκοοι. The Eleans made answer that when Sparta set the example of freeing τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις they would follow suit. This implies a right of conquest over Triphylia and the Pisatan league, which was certainly never solidly acquired by the Eleans until their devastating campaign shortly after the battle of Plataea, although there appears to have been a period earlier than that during which Elis, without being sovereign at Olympia, was the paramount power.

at all, but only a fountain called *Bīsa* close to Cicysum, the largest of all the eight?¹ This is the more extraordinary now that an early inscription (*Olympia*, Text V, No. 11: *τὰν δὲ γὰ[ν] ἔχην τὰν ἐν Πίσαι*) reenforces the abundant literary, historical, and legendary evidence of the ancient existence, importance, and influence of Pisa. The *τινές* alluded to by Strabo as maintaining that there never was such a place as Pisa were presumably those responsible for the *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* of the Eleans. Following this lead, Strabo speaks of eight Pisatan cities among which Pisa² did not count, but, for reasons, some of which have been given already, we may with some confidence surmise that among the cities of the neighbourhood league³ Pisa counted as the ninth, and was the most important, being the nearest to Olympia. With the exception of this trumped up difficulty about the existence and location of Pisa, and the real one as to the location of Cicysum, all the nine members of the pre-Dorian Amphictyony of Pisatan Olympia, Salmone, Harpina, Heraclea, Dyspontium, Heraea, Scillus, and Lepreum, are definitely located, and their respective districts are clearly laid down on the map.

When, by way of some sort of verification, to justify the drift of

¹ See p. 356: *τινὲς δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν γεγονέναι Πίσαν φασιν (εἰναι γὰρ ἄν μιαν τῶν δκτώ), κρήνην δὲ μόνην, ἣν νῦν καλεῖσθαι Βίσαν, Κικυσίου πλησίον πόλεως μεγίστης τῶν δκτώ.*

² There has been a general agreement among those who have tried to locate Pisa. Its site is fixed on high ground close to Olympia, and hard by the modern village of Meraka. Strabo's whole account of it (p. 356) runs substantially as follows: (a) Pisa was named for a spring, the town (or tribe centre?) being called *Πίσα*, the spring *Bīsa* (*οἰον πίστραν, διπερ ἐστὶ ποτίστραν*). The location was between Mounts Ossa and Olympus, names repeated in Pisatis from Thessaly; (b) others say there never was any town of Pisa, if there had been, it would have figured, as it does not among the eight Pisatan centres.

³ One of the most convincing of several points in evidence, shewing that the combination of the various districts of Pisatis was of the nature of a league, is the way in which both Strabo and Pausanias set up as kings of Pisatis rulers identified now with one and again with another of its component districts. It is permissible to suppose that each member of the league would always have its own chief, the association of all being represented by an Amphictyonic Council headed now by one and again by another of the confederated chiefs. Among these, however, the Pisatan was especially prominent, so that dominion now over one, now over another, of the Amphictyonic tribes was attributed to him.

argument so far, you turn to the Homeric poems, there the western Peloponnesus, Elis, Pisatis, Triphylia, and Messenia, spreads out before you enveloped in a glittering haze, beneath which there is little or nothing fixed. All seems to be in a condition of flux. The chief impression which abides is that of the personality of Nestor, the son of Neleus, a clear-cut and vividly portrayed figure, all the more indelibly stamped upon our minds because of the melting mysteriousness, the elusive complexity of routs, raids, and reprisals in which he won his spurs and learned his lore. It cannot be entirely due to what Eustathius calls the poet's propensity to (*ἐπίφορος* is the learned prelate's curious adjective for this Homeric symptom) the number nine, that the only groups of nine leagued communities anywhere mentioned in *Il.* 2, are all in the Peloponnesus. Some pre-Dorian fact lurks here, could we but disengage it. The four Peloponnesian groups of nine are: (1) the Argive group of nine communities, marching under Diomed, — Hermione, Troezen, Epidaurus, Argos, Tiryns, Aegina, Asine, Eone, and Mases (vv. 559-564), all of them familiar landmarks on the map excepting the last three, for the location of which there is simply no evidence; (2) the Lacedaemonian group of nine, marching under Menelaus, — Pharis, Sparta, Bryseae, Amyclae, Helos, Las, Oetylus, Messe, and Augeae (vv. 581-586), for locating all of which except the last there is good evidence so far as it goes, and certainly no conflicting evidence; (3) the Arcadian group of nine, marching under Agapenor, and forming an Amphictyony around the tomb of Aepytus, — Pheneus, Orchomenus, Tegea, Mantinea, Stymphalus, Parrhasia, well known all of them, with Rhipe, Stratie, and Enispe (vv. 604-609), which cannot be located; (4) the Pylian or northwestern group of nine, marching under Nestor, the Neleid, — Pylus, Arene, Cyparissia, Thryum, Aepy, Pteleus, Helos, Amphigenea, and Doris (vv. 591-595). Of these nine not one can be located on any map, certainly not those shadowy places known only to Homer and Homeric commentators, Amphigenea and Aepy.¹ These Pylian centres whose contingents marched under

¹ The Eustathian comment runs: *ἡ δὲ Ἀμφιγένεια παρὰ Δητοῦς ἱερὸν, ἐπει φασιν ἑκὲν Δητῶ παραγενομένη ἔτεκεν Ἀπόδλλωνα.* Strabo says (p. 349): *καὶ Ἀμφιγένεια τῆς Μακιστίας ἔστι περὶ τὸν Τύψεντα, δπου τὸ τῆς Δητοῦς ἱερὸν.* About Aepy, Strabo says (*ibid.*), connecting it with Thryum, as located at the mouth of the Alpheus: *τάχα δέ φασι Θρίον μὲν εἰρήσθαι τὸν πόρον, εὔκτιτον δ' Αἴπυ τὸ Ἐπιτά-*

Nestor unanimously refuse to be localised. No sooner is Thryum comfortably settled at the mouth of the Alpheus (at Epitalium) than we hear of it as Arcadian,¹ and learn from the Eustathian commentary that it was also in Messenia. It is equally hard to fix the name Pteleus² or Pteleum (*Il.* 2, 394) either in Triphylia or in Messenia, all the harder because, shortly after the allusion to this western community, Homer (*Il.* 2, 697) mentions a Pteleus in Phthiotis. Helos (*Il.* 2, 697) wavers in the same fashion between Pisatis, Laconia, and Messenia,³

λιον. The Eustathian comment on *Alivu* first questions whether the epithet *εὐκτιτόν* may not be the name of the town, then quotes Strabo and Herodotus, winding up with a derivation from the name Aeptytus, the hero around whose tomb rallied the pre-Dorian Amphictyony of the Arcadians. With Amphigenea is chiefly connected a more or less lost legend of Leto and her twins, while an elusive Arcadian tradition hangs about Aepy, localising it, however, not in Arcadia latterly so-called, but in the lower Alpheus valley.

¹ See Hesychius *s. v.* *Τρεμθόν*, and Theognis 20, 25. Thryum (*Il.* 2, 592) becomes Thryoessa (*Il.* 11, 711). The Eustathian commentary on 2, 592 connects it with a plant of its neighbourhood, *θρόνον*, the *rush* abounding in the lagoons at the mouth of the Alpheus, and makes of it *Rushford*, a marshy place where the Alpheus could be forded. This is but a summary of Strabo, p. 349, where Thryum is identified with Epitalium. But Eustathius rather confusingly brings in a statement from another source locating Thryum in Messenia. Accordingly, where he says δὲ τὰ ἔθυκα γράφεις φησι “Θρόνον πόλις Μεσσηνιας,” the good bishop subjoins the *obiter dictum* that there were many places where rushes abounded and where the name *Rushford* was adopted. See also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 4, 7.

² Strabo (p. 349 f.) makes Pteleum a Peloponnesian colony from the Thessalian district of the same name, describing it vaguely as *δρυμῶδες χωρίον δοκύγον* Πτελεάστον *καλούμενον*, but not otherwise locating it. Eustathius on *Il.* 2, 697 sharply distinguishes the Peloponnesian from the Thessalian Pteleus: *Ἐτέρος δὲ πάντως οὐτος Πτελεός παρὰ τὸν ἵππο τῷ Νέστορι*, while on *Il.* 2, 594 he expands Strabo's account, insisting upon the derivation from neighbouring *πτελέαι* (*elms*). Thus Pteleus would be *Elmwood* as Thryum is *Rushford*, the chief difficulty being the scarcity of elms in the lower Alpheus valley. A scholiast on Theocritus 7, 65 locates Ptelea in Arcadia, and Pliny (4, 7) fixes it in Messenia alongside of Arene, Thryum, and Dorium. It is tolerably clear that Thryum and Pteleum might be regarded as poetical improvisations. If so regarded, their mention in this list testifies that a half obliterated and legendary tradition imposed on the poet one thing most clearly, the necessity of somehow getting hold of nine names.

³ Strabo says (p. 350) Helos may have been a district near the Alpheus, not a town like Helos in Laconia. Others, he says, locate it *περὶ τὸν Ἀλώρων Φλος*, οὐ τὸ τῆς Ἐλεας Ἀρτέμιδος λεόν τῆς ἵππο τοῦ Ἀρκάσιν. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ ξέχον τὴν λεοσύνην. Both these accounts locate Helos in Triphylia, but the latter attaches it to an Arcadian

and Strabo was uncertain whether Dorium was a town, a plain, or a mountain,¹ and will not even vouch for its having been in the valley of the Neda, although Pausanias (4, 33, 7) speaks of finding its ruins somewhere between Andania and Cyparissia in Messenia. As for the three remaining of Homer's nine, Cyparissia or Cyparisseis is now on the borders of Triphylia and Messenia (Strabo, p. 349), and again farther south in Messenia (*ibid.*, p. 359), and the case of Arene is similar;² both of them shift to suit two of the three accredited and reciprocally incompatible locations of Pylus. Furthermore, in the constant epithet "Geranian" HomERICALLY bestowed, in connexion with *Ιππότα*, upon Nestor, the Pylian, lurks the name of another Pylian town, Gerenus or Gerenia, which refuses any fixed abiding place.³ As

worship of Elean Artemis. This is a striking record of the ancient identity of Pisatans and Arcadians. Pliny locates Helos in Messenia with Thryum and Pteleus, and strangely enough again enumerates Pteleum, Helos, and Dorium as places in the neighbourhood of Cyrene and Clazomenae (5, 31). The Eustathian commentary on *Il.* 2, 584 completely confuses the Laconian and the Pylian Helos in speaking of the Helots. In fact it is nowhere clear whether Helos is to be finally located in Pisatis, Triphylia, Messenia, or Laconia.

¹ Strabo (p. 350) gives another location, that of Messenian Olorus for Dorium. This removes it from Triphylia-Pisatis to Messenia.

² Here the Pylian raiders of Nestor's long yarn (*Il.* 11, 723) halted till dawn, ἔγγύθεν Ἀρήνης, δοι μεναμεν ἡῶ διαν | Ιππῆσες Πυλιών. Strabo (p. 346) identifies Samicum as the acropolis of Arene, and the river Anigrus near by as the Homeric *Μινής* (*Il.* 11, 722). He further records (p. 361) his disapproval of the identification of Erana in Messenia with Arene, which would then lie between the Messenian Pylus and the Messenian Cyparissia.

³ This composite epithet is bestowed eight times in the *Iliad*, book 10, nine times in *Od.* 3, and elsewhere fourteen times, — 31 times in all. Once (*Il.* 9, 52) Nestor is called *Ιππότης* without the prefix *Γερήνως*, *Ιππότης* being likewise applied to Phyleus, son of Augeas (*Il.* 2, 628), to the Aetolians Tydeus (*Il.* 5, 126) and Oeneus (*Il.* 14, 117), and to Peleus (*Il.* 16, 33 and 23, 89). The Eustathian comment on *Il.* 2, 336 notes several current explanations, beginning with the very feeble one which makes *Γερήνως* mean δέ *ἐντιμός παρὰ τὸ γέρας*. More serious is its derivation from the Gerenians of Gerenus or Gerenia; indeed we have a commentator's statement (*Il.* 1, 260-273) that Nestor is there called *Γερήνως* because, when Heracles stormed Pylus, he was safely bestowed among the Gerenians. The Gerenians' town is (*a*) in Messenia, or (*b*) in Hollow Elis (Strab., pp. 340, 353, 360), where there is a river Gerēn and a town Gerenus. The Messenian town was apparently Gerenia. Eustathius also quotes a fragment (not elsewhere preserved) of Hesiod telling of Nestor's flight to the Gerenians: *Νέστωρ οἶος ἀλυξεν ἐν ἀνθεμίεντι Γερήνῳ*, and still another, describing the slaughter of Nestor's brothers: *κτενε δὲ Νηλῆος ταλασίφρονος νίεας*

for Pylus itself, its elusiveness has passed into the proverbial jingle : ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλου, Πύλος γέ μέν ἔστι καὶ ἀλλος, “There’s a Pylus your Pylus behind, and a Pylus still to find.”¹ Strabo and all geographers after him take this to mean that there were just three places called Pylus : (1) southern or Messenian Pylus,² (2) central or Arcado-Triphylian Pylus in Lepreatis,³ (3) northern or Elean Pylus.⁴ Unbiased criticism, however, must balance probabilities and conclude either that Homer’s Pylus was vaguely any one of the three competing sites, a name attaching in fact to a shifting tribal centre in the western Peloponnesus, or that one Pylus may have been thought of mainly in the *Iliad* and another for the most part in the *Odyssey*. The first alternative may be strongly supported by appealing to *Il.* 5, 545, where the lower Alpheus is spoken of as running through (διά) the land of the Pylians,⁵ and by illustrating what this implies from Strabo.⁶ The

ἔτολος | ἔγδεκα · διδέκατος δὲ Γερήνιος ἱππότεια Νέστωρ | ξεῖνος ἐών ἐτύχησε παρ' ἵπποδάμαιοις Γερήνοις. Finally, Eustathius mysteriously observes that γέρην is the name for a female crane. Eratosthenes (Strab., p. 299) complains feelingly of people who told lies about the Gerenians. Their town, following the lead of Pylus, was located vaguely now in Messenia, now in Hollow Elis, and again in Triphylia. Strabo (p. 340 *init.*) prefers Messenia professedly because the information about Gerenia of Messene is γνωριμώτερα, *less vague*: but really he is committed to the Messenian location by his enthusiasm for the Arcado-Triphylian identification of Pylus. Indeed his defence of his favourite Pylus would be much weakened if he had to account for the Gerenians as settled in Hollow Elis.

¹ Strab., p. 339, and Aristoph. *Knights*, vv. 1058 ff.

² Pylus near Sphacteria, also called Coryphasium (see Strab., p. 348), and associated with the exploits of the Athenians under Demosthenes as also with the more recent battle of Navarino.

³ Strab., pp. 339, 343, 345. Ostentatiously claiming to stand among the old Homeric guard (δημητικάτεροι), Strabo scorns the Messenian Pylus advocated by upstart commentators (νεώτεροι) and satirically observes that zealous local enthusiasts alone back up the claims of the northern Pylus on the Peneus to have been the seat of Nestor.

⁴ Strab., p. 339: Μεραῖδι δὲ τοῦ Πηγειοῦ καὶ τῆς Σελλήνετος ἐκβολῆς Πύλος ὠκεῖτο κατὰ τὸ Σκόλλων, οὐχ ἡ τοῦ Νέστορος πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐτέρα τις, οὐ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλφεῖον οὐδέν ἔστι κοινώνημα, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν Παμούν. See also pp. 351–353.

⁵ The passage details how Aeneas worshipped Crethon and Orsilochus, descendants of the river Alpheus, δοτ' εἰρό βέα Πυλίων διὰ γαῖης. The adjective εἰρό shews, if it be not purely ornamental, that the lower Alpheus, below its junction with the Ladon, the Erymanthus, and the Diagon, is in the poet’s mind.

⁶ P. 350: Λε δὴ τούτων δῆλον ως ἐκατέρα τοῦ Ἀλφεοῦ η ὑπὸ Νέστορος χώρα δοτὸν η τάσσει ἀναμάζει Πυλίων γῆν. Strabo also has the lower Alpheus valley in

first impression would naturally be that the poet must simply mean what he says, that the Pylians' country was the lower Alpheus valley, the north bank extending from the river to the heights separating Pisatis from Hollow Elis, and the south or Pisato-Triphylian bank extending to the Lapithas range, an equal distance southward. This certainly is the land through the middle of which the lower or broad Alpheus runs. Unhappily so narrow a delimitation of the Pylians' land excludes alike every one of the three competing sites for Pylus, and might tempt the suggestion that Olympia would be the only possible site for the awkwardly nomadic city of Nestor and Neleus. Our one alternative remaining is to extend the boundaries both northward and southward so as to include both Hollow Elis and Messenia. Thus on either side of the Alpheus valley strictly so called, which itself ends westward in a broad coastal plain with lagoons, the Pylians and other pre-Dorians¹ must have ranged nomadically over the relatively vast plains of the whole western Peloponnesus. Before the influx of immigrant Aetolians crowded them southward, their central meeting-place would naturally be Pylus on the Peneus, in the midst of the fertile lowlands of Hollow Elis, a paradise for horses and for herds of cattle. Successive invasions from the north crowded them southward, and Pylus shifted to the valley of the Alpheus, possibly to the immediate neighbourhood of the Olympian Altis.² The Aetolo-Eleans came in with

mind, and also Macistus and Lepreum, i. e. the whole of Triphylia and the whole of Pisatis; but the Homeric passage hardly suggests more than Pisatis and northern Triphylia, the south bank and half-valley of the Alpheus.

¹ The shifting haunts of the Caucones, who were Pylians (Hdt. 1, 147 and 4, 148), for instance, make it difficult to place them, unless as pre-Dorians they ranged over the whole district west of what were later the western boundaries of Arcadia. Cf. Strabo, p. 345: οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θλητὴ τὴν πῦν Ἡλείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας μέχρι Δύμης Καυκωνίαν λεχθῆναι φασίν. See Ameis-Hentze's note on *Od.* 3, 366, where Athena-Mentor makes her pretext for departure the collection of a debt from the Caucones, *thought of as in the north* (Strab., pp. 345 *ad fin.* and 346 *init.*). In historical times they were fixed in Triphylia, where was the tomb of Caucon (Strab., p. 345 *init.*: ἐν τῇ Δευρεάτῳ. Cf. Paus. 5, 5, 5). It is significant that Caucon appears prominently in Messenian legends (Paus. 4, 1, 5; 4, 26, 8, and 4, 27, 6), and the Cauconians are also called Arcadians, and *qualified as essentially nomadic* (Strab., p. 345: τολεούς δ' εἰσὶ λόγοι περὶ τῶν Καυκωνῶν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀρκαδικὸς θεὸς φασί, καθάπερ τὸ Πελασγικόν, καὶ πλανητικὸν ἀλλως, ὥστερ ἐκεῖνο.

² Pylus would thus momentarily have the location,—if that can have location which cannot be precisely located,—attributed to Pisa, in the immediate vicinity of

the Dorian invasion, displacing the Aetolo-Epeans from Pylus on the Peneus. These in turn, favoured no doubt by the Dorian intervention represented by Heracles' campaigns, crowded the Pylians and Pylus further south. Before subsiding into Messenia, Pylus unquestionably made a halt at Strabo's Τριφυλιακὸς Πύλος καὶ Ἀρκαδικὸς καὶ Λεπραιτικός.¹ All these successive events may very well have been of comparatively recent occurrence at the time of the framing of the Nestorian cycle of western Peloponnesian legends embodied in the Homeric poems. If an interval is supposed to intervene between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it can be supposed indeed that the closing events, which finally drove Pylus to the headland adjoining Sphacteria, took place in that interval.

The one definite and positive fact vouched for about Pylus then is, that it was in at least three places, no one of which lies, properly speaking, in the strictly defined land of the Pylians. It was certainly the rallying point of nomadic tribes of whose feuds, reprisals, and cattle-lifting raids there is record both in the *Iliad* (11, 670-761) and the *Odyssey* (3, 366-369). The legends of the cleansing of the Augean stables, and of the babe Hermes driving off the herd of Apollo to Pylus, both serve to perpetuate the horse-breeding and cattle-raising genius of all these Arcadian, Elean, Pisatan, and Messenian nomads. Furthermore, their countless offerings of rude *simulacra* of horses and oxen accumulated on the virgin surface of the soil around all the altars of the Olympian grove-sanctuary go far to prove that this nomadic life of

the sacred Olympian grove. Supposing that the Pylian centre shifted at all, it would almost inevitably tend to seek for one of its locations close proximity to so enormously frequented a sanctuary as the Olympian Altis. Wherever Pylus may from time to time have been fixed, there is solid evidence proving the Olympian grove to have been a religious centre in the pre-Dorian days for miniature offerings of cattle and horses, — just the gifts which Pylian cattle reivers would be sure to offer.

¹ Cf. Strab., p. 350. His argument for identifying the Pylus of Nestor (*Od.* 3) with this Triphylian Pylus (Kiepert locates it nearly half way between Lepreum and Macistus) makes much of the fact that this location, being more than thirty stadia from the sea, suits the requirements in *Od.* 3, 344-365 and 15, 190-201. The sacrifice to Poseidon which Telemachus found in progress, Strabo identifies as performed within the precinct of Samian Poseidon, and not at Pylus. This precinct was, he says, twenty stadia distant from Pylus (pp. 344 *ad fin.* and 345 *init.*). It is, however, chimerical to attempt, on the strength of any words in the *Odyssey*, to determine the exact distance of Pylus from the sea.

herdsman and horse breeders began as soon as the plains of the western Peloponnesus were inhabited. Just as, by following more or less strictly historical records toward the limits beyond which all is poetical or legendary, we found as our ultimate datum the Pisatan league of nine communities (all of them, be it noted, save Lepreum, in Homer's strictly defined land of the Pylians), so also, after pondering what may underlie the poetical idealization of the Homeric Pylus and Pylian Nestor, we are confronted with nine tribes or tribal centres, represented at the sacrifice which Telemachus came upon at Pylus. There day was just dawning on nine seated companies of fifty each, each providing nine bulls for the sacrifice. Just so in the second *Iliad*, there are ninety Pylian ships, ten from each of the nine leagued communities. Pylus, where Nestor sacrificed, is like Olympian Pisa in being neither very far from nor very near to the sea. Although the poet imperturbably speaks of it as the "lofty"¹ or the "well built"² city of Neleus, the passages where he does so are strikingly illustrative of the half mechanical, though by no means unpoetical, formulae which sometimes go to make up the broad sweeping effects of epic diction. They serve rather to generalize than to characterize. The same may be said of the passages, numerous in both poems, where it is impossible to be sure whether Pylus means a district or a town.³ The non-committal vagueness of the poet so discourages cross-examination that it seems pragmatically to suggest such a thing as an inference. Still, if inference be made, we must conclude that the name Pylus applied to whatever tribe-centre happened for the moment to be thought of as the accredited rallying place of the Pylians. Thus Pylus ceases to be a strictly geographical expression or topographical term, and changes its *venue* (so to speak) into the region of politics and religion.

Just here the grammarian and commentator Aristarchus comes providentially to the rescue with his not wholly unconvincing attempt at establishing the text of *Iliad* 5, 397 by substituting $\pi\bar{\nu}\lambda\varphi$ ⁴ with a minus-

¹ *Od. 3, 485; 15, 193: Πύλου αἰτίῳ πτολιεύθρον.*

² *Od. 3, 4: Πύλον, Νηλήος ἐνκτίμενον πτολιεύθρον | Ιτον.*

³ Strab., p. 337: "Ομηρος ταύτην ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν μέχρι Μεσοήπης καλεῖ Πύλον δμονήμως τῇ πόλει.

⁴ Eustathius justifies the use of $\pi\bar{\nu}\lambda\varphi$ = $\pi\bar{\nu}\lambda\eta$ by $\phi\theta\bar{\nu}\gamma\gamma = \phi\theta\bar{\nu}\gamma\gamma\sigma$, $\tau\bar{\nu}\mu\bar{\eta} = \tau\bar{\nu}\mu\bar{\eta}\mu\bar{\alpha}$ ($\tau\bar{\nu}\mu\bar{\eta}\mu\bar{\alpha}$), $\pi\bar{\nu}\theta\eta = \pi\bar{\nu}\theta\sigma$, $\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta} = \bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}$, $\beta\bar{\nu}\lambda\eta = \beta\bar{\nu}\lambda\sigma$ καὶ $\xi\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\cdot \sigma\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}$, says the

cule for Πύλω with a majuscule and reading ἐν πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσοι βαλῶν ὁδύνησιν ἔδωκεν.¹ Heracles wounded Hades as he stood among the dead in the gateway of the underworld. There is no room here, if Aristarchus is heeded, for Pylus as a strictly topographical expression. And yet Apollodorus (2, 7, 3) first records the tradition that Heracles, having devastated Elis, moved upon Pylus which he took, slaying all the sons of Neleus except Nestor, and then adds κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ Ἀιδηνή ἔτρωσε Πυλίοις βοηθοῦντα. If in the Homeric line where Hades receives his wound, ἐν πύλῳ is read, and the episode thus understood is connected with this tradition of Apollodorus that Hades was wounded Πυλίοις βοηθοῦντα, then we can restore the majuscule in the Homeric text, for Pylus then becomes synonymous with the gateway of the underworld, and the Pylians become a tribal group centred at the gate.

The religious connotation of the name Pylus involves the idea of the netherworld gate, while its political associations are perhaps best illustrated by the fact that Thermopylae was by some called Pylus, though this has been withdrawn from our knowledge by the promiscuous emendation in various manuscripts of Πύλος to Πύλαι.² Even without these numerous readings of Πύλος for Πύλαι, the mere fact that the

Reverend commentator, πύλη = πύλος ἀρσενικῷ· οἷον “ἐν πύλῳ βαλῶν”· οὐ γάρ ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τῇ πόλει τὸν “Αἰδηνή Ἐρακλῆς ἔβαλεν, ἀλλὰ κάτω ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν πύλῃ, διὸ καὶ ἐρμηνεύων ἐπάγει “ἐν νεκύεσσοι βαλῶν.”

¹ Cf. Dr. Leaf's note on *Il.* 5, 393-400.

² *Et. Magn.* s. v. Θερμοπύλαι· ἔνιοι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ταῦτην Πύλον καλοῦσιν· Φιλέας δὲ Θερμοπύλαι λέγει καλεῖσθαι, ἐπει ἐκεῖ ἡ Ἀθηναί θέρμα λογρα Ἡράκλει ἐποιησε. Upon this Sylburgius remarks: pro Πύλον rectius légemus Πύλαι ex Strab. lib. 4 (9?) uti et Livius: “Ideo” inquit “Pylae et ab aliis, quod calidae aquae in ipsis fauicibus sunt, Thermopylae locus appellatur.” Larcher gives a better reason for regarding Πύλον as a blunder for Πύλας by citing the practically identical entry s. v. Θερμοπύλαι in Harpocration, where Πύλας is read with no Ms. variant, barring the significant appearance in the best Ms. “A” of a blank where one word or the other should stand—a fairly good indication that the scrupulous scribe found Πύλον, was puzzled, but did not venture to write Πύλας, and so left the space blank. Thus there is reason for believing that the Πύλον of the *Et. Magn.* is justified, and that, but for the rash corrections of copyists, we should have several mentions of Πύλος scattered through Demosthenes and Aeschines. All the Harpocration MSS. have, with the exception of the best, corrected the *difficilior lectio*, reproduced by some careful hand in the *Et. Magn.* The fact that Πύλον was a difficult reading goes in this case very far indeed towards proving that it was the right one.

original meeting place of the league called Amphictyonic *par excellence* was called Πύλαι, suggests the political associations which clustered around the Pylus of the western Peloponnesus as around the more northerly Pylae.¹ Moreover, the well-established legendary datum that the Amphictyons of northern Greece, having first had their meetings at Thermopylae only, where was the grave and sanctuary of Amphictyon and of Demeter Pylaea or Amphictyonis, — note the significant alternation which probably implies equivalence,² — were reorganized by the Argive king Acrisius, father of Danae, so that meetings were held twice a year at Delphi as well as at Pylae,³ where Acrisius dedicated a temple

¹ The frequency, at centres of widespread resort, of threshold observances or monuments is noteworthy. At Athens, where were combined the ancient Demes of Attica, the pre-Mnesiclean Propylaea dated probably from the Pisistratids, and that monument was presumably either a substitute for or an enhancement of an earlier one. The same was probably, *mutatis mutandis*, the case of the two Propylaea of later date at Eleusis, which in earliest days was an independent group of confederated districts. At Delphi we have clear record not only of the assembly of the Amphictyonic Pylaea, but of the cult of Demeter Pylaea. At Delos the precinct was entered on the north as on the south by Propylaea, and there was a temple at the gate of Artemis Propylaea. At Epidaurus the small temple ornamented with dogs' heads that stood at the gate was almost certainly a temple of Artemis Propylaea. At one of the gates of Thebes (Paus. 9, 10, 2), the centre of confederated Boeotia, was a temple of Ismenian Apollo, just in front of which stood statues of Athena and of Hermes called Pronaoi. At Olympia, besides the various and conspicuous ceremonial gateways of the precinct, there was the monumental gatehouse of the Pelopium, Roman no doubt, but certainly standing where stood from immemorial days a gateway hallowed by the observance of innumerable generations of worshippers. A time came, however, when it became the fashion to build Propylaea almost anywhere. Cicero writes for instance to Atticus insinuating the idea of Propylaea for the Academy. These certainly could have been built, had Atticus seen fit to finance the project.

² Hdt. 7, 200: 'Ανθήλη . . . παρ' ἦν παραρρέων δὲ Ασωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦ, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὑρίσ, ἐν τῷ Δῆμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυούνδος θύραι καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύονοι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρόν.

³ It appears that there was no alternation, since numerous inscriptions speak of the spring as well as the autumn meetings as held at Delphi; cf. C. I. A. II, 1, 551, ἐπὶ 'Ιέρωντος ἐν Δελφοῖς πυλαῖς ἑαρινᾶς. Dittenberger, *Syll.* 142, 2: Φωκεῖς κατέβαλον τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τὰν ἑαρινὰν Πυλαῖαν. Moreover, Strabo (p. 429) says that at every meeting the Amphictyons made sacrifice at Pylae (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ λιμὴν μέγας αὐτοῖς, καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερόν, ἐν φατὲ πάσαν Πυλαῖαν θυσίαν ἐτέλουν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. It looks indeed as if Delphi had superseded Pylae as the regular meeting-place in the efficient days of the Amphictyony, the sacrifices at Pylae to

to Demeter Pylaea.¹ This legend attaching the efficient organization of the Delphian Amphictyony to a name identified like that of Acrisius with the Perseus legend, has unmistakable significance. The full-fledged conception of an Amphictyonic league can hardly have leapt into sudden being. Generations of growth were required elsewhere if Acrisius conceivably intervened at Delphi as the legend intimates. His efficient measures may then be conceived of as the fruit of Pylian and Peloponnesian² experience, while Acrisius himself stands like Nestor for the pre-Dorian epoch in Peloponnesian annals.³ However that may be, the Pylians were, like the Amphictyons of Thermopylae, a group of by no means homogeneous races or tribes.⁴ Pursuing still the analogy

Demeter being a matter of surviving ritual. The oath taken at these Pylaea or Amphictyonic meetings as given by Aeschines (*False Embassy* 115) certainly dwells chiefly on their duty to the Delphian sanctuary, *μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀναστάταν ποιῆσαι . . . καὶ ἔάν τις η συλάβῃ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ η συνειδῆ τι η βουλεύσῃ τι κατὰ τῶν λεπρῶν, τιμωρήσαι καὶ χερὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ.*

¹ *Anth. Pal.* 13, 25: Δῆμητρι τῇ Πυλαίῃ τοῦτον οὐκ Πελασγῶν | Ἀκρίσιος τὸν νηὸν ἔδειματο. See also Schol. in Eurip. *Or.* 1094: Δελφοὶ πολεμῶντες πρὸς τοὺς ὄμβρους ἀναρχίαν εἴλοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀκρίσιον μετεπέμψαντο ἐξ Ἀργους, ὃς αὐτοῖς τὸν τε πόλεμον καλῶς διέθετο καὶ κατὰ ἔχιλον τοῦ Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ συνεδρίου οὐ κατεστήσατο Ἀμφικτύων διευκαλίων ἐν Θερμοπόλαις τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἔπειτα ἐν Δελφοῖς εἴσατο καὶ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀναλαβῶν τὰς συνόδους ἀπὸ μᾶς δύο πεποιηκε καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καθ' οὓς Κμελλον ἔκαστα διοικεῖν ἀτέλειαν τε προείπεν ἐφ' ἐκατέραις ταῖς συνόδοις, καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ λεροῦ καὶ τῶν Δελφῶν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐπέτρεψε.

² On the other hand, in the legend of Neleus with its repetition of Thessalian names and replication of Thessalian legends, there is perhaps evidence of a considerable Thessalian immigration into the pre-Dorian Peloponnes.

³ The Perseus legend certainly belongs to the Peloponnesus. Perseus was in fact an old Argive hero whose observances and tradition were coextensive with the Morea in pre-Dorian times. The Dorians found all this so deeply rooted that perchance they made of Perseus (grandson of Acrisius, son of Abas) the paternal and maternal great-grandfather of Heracles, Amphitryon and Alcmenea being cousins, son and daughter respectively of Alcaeus and Electryon, the two eldest sons of Perseus and Andromeda.

⁴ Strabo (p. 333) is doubtless right in classing Arcadians and Eleans (the pre-Dorian inhabitants of Elis) as Aeolians in contradistinction to Dorians, while von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf is certainly justified in saying (*Heracles* I, p. 16) that it is a mistake to suppose that the name Aeolian stands for a homogeneous group of tribes such as were the Dorians. The Cauconians, centered around Caucon whose tomb was honoured at Lepreum, were Pylians. Nestor is called a Messenian by Pindar (*P.* 6, 35; cf. Strab., p. 633), while the Lepreatae claimed to be Arcadians. Two names are more or less consistently kept apart from the Pylians; — (a) the Eleans in

of the Malian or Thessalian Amphictyony, one ought to find clear and undisguised in any prototype, Pylian, Peloponnesian, or other, two features: (1) an oracle of wide repute, and (2) a strikingly individualised local divinity and ritual. The Malian oracle undoubtedly finds its Elean or Pylian analogue in the ancient Earth-Oracle of Olympia (transformed later into an oracle of Zeus), and the Pylio-Elean analogue of Amphictyon at Olympia is Pelops, while similar functions belong in neighbouring centres to Caucon and Lepreus respectively. Certainly the observance at Olympia of Pelops and the Pelopium was a more real and ultimate concern than the northern ritual at the Pylaean tomb of Amphictyon.

But what were the distinctive religious associations of Pylus and the Pylians? Leaving indeterminate the topographical location of Pylus, taking it not too prosaically as the gate of the netherworld, where Heracles encountered and wounded Hades in the act of coming to the rescue of the Pylians, we find striking and abundant evidence of netherworld associations not only throughout the Peloponnesus,¹ but especially

the sense of the Aetolo-Eleans,—of course by derivation, the name Eleans means Lowlanders or Dalesmen, and that is the meaning of Caucones (from *καύκη, καύκλος, a cup*)—a name attached to an important group of distinctively Pylian tribes, to some of whom the name Eleans (in the sense of Dalesmen) is occasionally given—and (b) the Epeans, when their original connexion with Aetolia is borne in mind. Unfortunately the occasions are many when Epeans are thought of as the aborigines conquered by the second Aetolian invasion which brought in the (Aetolo-)Eleans.

¹ Apart from Elis and Triphylia, considered in the next three notes, Hades was so exceptionally recognized throughout the Peloponnesus that, in the religious observances of pre-Dorian days, he must have played a part far more conspicuous than that assigned him after the Dorian invasion. All the more notable centres of Hades-worship on Greek soil are Peloponnesian. At Hermione in Argolis, Hades was worshipped as Clymenus and had a temple there opposite Demeter's, she being surnamed Chthonia and regarded as Hades' sister. An Echo Colonnade, so-called from the triple echo, an Acherousian lake, and a γῆς χάραμα were all near at hand to commemorate the spot whence Heracles emerged with his underworld prize (Paus. 2, 35, 5-7). All sorts of variants on the Cerberus legend hovered about Cape Taenarum in Laconia, whence Heracles is said to have fetched a serpent, called Αἰδον κίνων, because of the deadliness of its bite (Paus. 3, 25, 4); Strabo (p. 363) just mentions a cave near Cape Taenarum δέ οὐ τὸν Κέρβερον ἀναχθῆναι μνηθεῖνον τον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ "Αἰδον. But Apollodorus is more circumstantial (2, 5, 12) in his account of the twelfth labour of Heracles. Confronted with this gruesome undertaking, Heracles went first to Eumolpus for Eleusinian initiation, and was required

in western and northwestern Peloponnesus, and specifically at Olympia,

to qualify by becoming an Athenian. His adoptive father was named *Pylius*, a significant point shewing perhaps that Heracles, the Dorian, had to transform himself into a Pylian before figuring in connexion with the Pylian realm of Hades. This seemingly far-fetched interpretation is made more than plausible, if Plutarch's account of the parallel case of the initiation of the Pylian Tyndarids (*Theseus* 33) is taken into account. The Tyndarids, being already of the pre-Dorian Peloponnesian dispensation, qualified for initiation at Eleusis by becoming the adopted sons of Aphidnus, the deme-hero of Attic Aphidnae. At all events, Heracles the Pylian by adoption repaired to Taenarum (*οὐ τῆς Ἀιδον καταβόσεως τὸ στήματα ἔστι*), went down and, having got hold of Cerberus, brought him out at Troezen. Thus the connexion of Troezen and Taenarum with the cult and legend of Hades and the netherworld clearly dates from the pre-Dorians. So that there is little need to speak of the precinct and temple close by the cave-entrance in the black-limestone rocks of Taenarum. There, where Heracles descended, the ground was sacred to Poseidon *δοφαλέος* known to Athenian observances as a saviour from shipwreck (Schol. in Aristoph. *Acharn.* 682: *τιμάται δὲ Ποσειδῶν δοφαλέος παρ' αὐτοῖς* [sc. Ἀθηναῖοι] *ἴνα δοφαλῶς πλέωσι*). The pre-Dorian associations of this divinity and sanctuary so persisted that Helots and slaves habitually resorted to it when reduced to desperate case by their Dorian overlords (Thuc. 1, 128 and 133, with which compare Paus. 4, 24, 5-7). In Sparta itself there was an allied cult of Clymenus and Demeter Chthonia (Paus. 3, 14, 5: *δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῷ διὰ τὸ λεπόν τὸ ἐν Ἐρμόνι καρέστη καὶ τούτους Χθονίαν νομίζειν Δῆμητρα*), identical with the one at Hermione. One detail is significant. Although Pausanias believed their cult to have been borrowed from Hermione, the Spartans declared that Orpheus introduced it (Immerwahr, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 174 f. and 244 f.). Orpheus is ultimately one and the same with Hades, and certainly the notion (expressed at Hermione by making Clymenus the brother of Chthonia) of a close interdependence between this Hades and this Demeter is supported by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 27) where Spartan burial regulations require a sacrifice to Demeter after eleven days of mourning (*τὴν δὲ δεκάτην θύσαντας ἔδει Δῆμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος*), and mourning was thereupon to cease. This Demeter could only be an underworld goddess, the sister of Hades.

Pindar's tenth Nemean ode,—really in honour of an Argive festival,—recounts the legend of the Lacedaemonian Apharetidae and mentions the *ξεστὸν πέτρον* or tombstone hurled by them upon Polydeuces. It is called an *δγαλμα* "Αἰδα. Far less rude than this must have been the representation of Hades (Paus. 3, 19, 4) or Πλούτων grouped with Demeter and Core on the pedestal of the throne of Amyclaeon Apollo. Considering how very rarely Hades is represented in any form of art, this figure, though known only by a description, is a solid piece of evidence. It certainly is a record of the Spartan and Peloponnesian pre-occupation with Hades. The same is true of the statue of Zeus Chthonius at Corinth (Paus. 2, 2, 8). It was a yearly ritual at Argos to summon Dionysus from the water with loud tuckets and shouting, and at the same time to fling a lamb into the sea as a fee to the doorkeeper. Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 35: *'Αργεῖοι δὲ . . . Διὸννος . . . ἀνακαλοῦνται δ'*

which was, as has been noted, immemorially the religious centre of the

αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὑδάτος, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς διβυσσον δρυα τῷ Πυλαβχῷ. This Argive epithet of *πυλάρχος* for Hades is authorized, as it were, by the Homeric epithet *πυλάρτης*, cited by Plutarch in this connexion. It occurs in the *Iliad* twice: 8, 367, εὖ τέ μν [Heracles] εἰς Ἀΐδηο πυλάρταο προύπεμψεν, and 13, 415, εἰς Ἀΐδηο περ Ἰωντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῦ (Deiphobus is gloating over sending Hypsenor to bear Asius company). Once it occurs in the *Odyssey*: 11, 277, Ἡ δ' ἔβη εἰς Ἀΐδηο πυλάρταο κρατερῶ (Epicaste or Jocasta is concerned). The commentators on these passages are instructive. Apion explains *πυλάρτης* as ὁ ταῦ πύλαις προσπρημένος. Hades is conceived of, that is, as keeping strict ward and watch at the Netherworld Gate. A second gloss is διὰ τὸ μηδένα ὑποστρέψειν ἐξ Ἀΐδου. On the combination of *πυλάρταο κρατερῶ*, Aristonicus (Schol. Ven.) says: τοῦ ἰσχυρῶς τὰς πύλας ἐπαρτῶντος, διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν. All this serves to explain representations where Hades, like St. Peter, has the attribute of the key. Eustathius comments on the same lines: κρατερὸς μὲν ὁ Ἀΐδηος ἐρρέθη διὰ τὸ βλαύον, πυλάρτης δὲ διὰ τὸ δυσεξιτητον . . . τοιούτον γάρ αι ἀραρυῖαι πύλαι, οὐτε ἐσώθεν φυκταί, οὐτε ἐξώθεν δράται τά γε ἔντος. This conception of barred gates for the netherworld is that of the Ishtar episode in the Izdubar epic (see Appendix to ch. VII in Mme. Ragozin's *Chaldea, Stories of the Nations*), not that of Dante's *Inferno*. These lie open like the gates of any medieval city in times of peace (*Inferno* 2 *ad fin.* and 3 *init.*). It was the gates of Purgatory that were barred and bolted. A radical shifting and readjustment of all pictorial notions about life after death is involved in the transference of the keys from Hades to St. Peter. Obviously connected with the Argive Hades *πυλάρχος* and the Homeric Hades *πυλάρτης* are three Peloponnesian doorkeepers: (1) the founder of Messenian Pylus, himself named Pylus, son of Cleson, who came from Megara at the head of a band of Leleges (Paus. 4, 36, 1); (2) Pylas, son of Cleson, son of Lelex, who came from Egypt and ruled at Megara (Paus. 1, 39, 6) and who gave up the Megaris to Pandion presumably when he went to Messenia and founded Pylus; (3) Pylon (Πύλων), also of Megara, the founder of Pylus on the Peneus in Hollow Elis (Paus. 6, 22, 5). What with (1) Pylius or Pylus of Eleusis who adopted Heracles, (2) Pylus, founder of Messenian Pylus, who is also called (3) Pylas, and assumes the alias (4) Pylon in order to found the northern or Elean Pylus,—though all four of them are sons of Cleson,—there are almost as many eponymous founders of Pylus as there are places where Pylus was founded.

From the midst of much confusion emerges clearly the close relation between the key-bearing, doorkeeping Hades *πυλάρχος*, *πυλάρτης*, or Clymenus,—worshipped by the pre-Dorian Peloponnesians and their submerged descendants,—and the traditional eponymous gatesman, whose aliases do not conceal his connexion with the shifting Pylus, and with those netherworld thresholds wherever from time to time in Elis, in Pisatis, in Triphylia, or in Messenia the Pylian tribes most congregated for sacrifices, or it may be for concerting cattle-lifting raids. Since Hades *πυλάρχος* or *πυλάρτης* was also called Clymenus (Hesychius gives the variant Περικλύμενος as a name of Hades), Periclymenus, Nestor's son or brother, who figures according to Hesiod in the sack of

land of the Cauconians and Pylians.¹ Absolutely unique evidence

Pylus by Heracles, is another link in the chain indissolubly connecting with Hades and Hades-worship (1) the house of Neleus, (2) the tribes of the Pylians or Cauconians, and (3) every one of the centres successively baptised with the name of the Netherworld Doorway, Pylus. Cf. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Heracles*, I, p. 65.

¹ See H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, I, pp. 156 ff., where it is maintained (a) that the Pylian Caucones worshipped Hades as their national or tribal divinity, and (b) that Pylus, their tribal centre, being a centre of Hades worship, would as such be for them the netherworld threshold. The connexion between Heracles' encounter with Hades at Pylus and his eleventh labour appears to have been a later addition to the original pre-Dorian legend, made after the Dorians came in. Cf. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Heracles*, I, pp. 57-66, on the Dodekathlos. That the pre-Dorian tradition of Hades as the bearer of the key to the underworld persisted at Olympia well into the fifth century B.C. is proved by Pausanias' account of the ivory table fashioned by Colotes, a pupil of Phidias, to hold the olive-crowns at the distribution ceremonial when the Olympic games were ended (Paus. 5, 20, 2). On its front face were figured Zeus, Hera, Hermes, and Artemis; corresponding to these were figured at the back the games themselves; on one side were carved Asclepius, Hygieia, Ares, and Agon; on the other were Pluto (Hades), Dionysus, Persephone, and Nymphs. Then Pausanias adds ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ κλεδί, οἵτινες γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν, λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν καλούμενον "Αἰθηρ κεκλεισθαί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐτρέψασιν οὐδεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ. This explanation of the key put by Colotes into the hands of his ivory figure of Hades might appropriately enough have been given among the glosses in the scholia on *Il.* 13, 415. The puzzling detail reported by Pausanias that Colotes, really a Parian, came from Heraclea ultimately, may hang together somehow with the notable fact that the legend of Heracles' fetching of Cerberus was so much at home at Heraclea Pontica that the place where he entered the underworld was shewn there (Roscher, *s. v.* Kerberos, p. 1124). But Colotes' ivory figure implies the survival at Olympia of various pre-Dorian legends of Hades, the gate-keeper; indeed near the altar of the unknown gods, which was close to the altar of Olympian Zeus in the centre of the Altis, were two altars, one of Zeus the Purifier and Nike, the other of Zeus surnamed Chthonius (Paus. 5, 14, 8). This is the same Plutonian Zeus whose statue Pausanias saw in Corinth, and who was hardly distinguishable from the Hades (Poseidon) Clymenus at Hermione. There, close to an "Acherousian lake," just as in the Altis close to this altar of Zeus Chthonius, was built the "Echo Colonnade." This appellation,—prosaically justified to the outward ear by an echo, sevenfold at Olympia, triple at Hermione,—may have imposed itself originally in both places by reason of that panic fear which overcame Odysseus at his netherworld exit, when "the myriad tribes of the dead thronged up ἡχῆ θεσπεστὶν," and he fled amain for fear of Persephone's underworld monsters (*Od.* 11, 632-635). On one side of the Olympian Hippodrome, Pausanias saw (6, 21, 1) a temple of Demeter Chamyne, there built because there the earth opened to receive Hades and Persephone. The Olympian priestess of Demeter had her place of honour at the

connects the northernmost (and presumably therefore the earliest) Pylus on the Peneus with the worship of Hades,¹ while there is similar and only less striking evidence of the same cult at the Triphylian Pylus;² but it must be admitted that nothing at all analogous is attested for the Messenian Pylus.³

games (an altar of white stone facing the seats of the Hellanodicae in the Stadium) and was the only woman privileged to be present. These minutiae have so little congruity with other arrangements at the Olympia that they are likely to be survivals from the pre-Doric dispensation, when apparently the great attraction at Olympia was the Olympian oracle, originally an underworld oracle. Such an oracle would indeed sort well with the Pylian observance of Hades the gatekeeper at the netherworld threshold.

¹ Of all Greek lands only Elis could boast a temple of Hades, i. e. a temple of Hades unassociated with any other god or gods. This temple was at Pylus, on the Peneus, an ancient peristyle building with a precinct marked off about it. It was open once a year; nor was any, even then, allowed to enter except the priest. The legendary reason given by Pausanias (6, 25, 2 ff.) is the episode from *Il.* 5 of Hercules *εἰς Πύλην*, cf. p. 23. How absolutely this Elean temple and worship of Hades at Elis was a survival appears from the Eustathian scholium on *Il.* 9, 158, Agamemnon's final adjuration to Achilles: *δυρθῆτω — Ἀλδῆς τοι διελιχος ήδ' ἀδάμαστος.* Eustathius says: *εἰς δὲ τὸ εἶναι "Αἰδηνος θεῶν ἔχθωτον συμβάλλεται καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὸ "μύνος θεῶν θάρατος οὐδὲντος ἔρα, οὐδὲν τι θύνων οὐδὲν ἐπιστένων λάβοις, οὐδὲν ζεστι βωμός, οὐδὲν πανοίκεται,"* ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ γάρ πόλει βωμὸν *"Αἰδουν εἶναι φαστι.* Θανάτου μέντοι ἐν Γαδειροῖς Ιστοροῦσι τινές. Άλλοι δέ γε ὡν οἴμαι καὶ διεγυράφος, καὶ τὸν *"Αἰδην παρά τον τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ικανὸν ἐκτετιμῆσθαι φασιν.* This unique survival was evidently notorious in antiquity.

² The passage in Strabo, alluded to by the scholiast on *Il.* 9, 158, as committing the geographer to recognition of the worship of Hades in the Peloponnesus, refers to the Triphylian Pylus,—Strabo's Pylus *par excellence* (p. 344): *πρὸς ἔω δ' ἐστιν δρός τοῦ Πύλου πλησίον ἐπώνυμον Μίνθη [Μίντη] ἣν μυθεύονται παλλακήν τοῦ "Αἰδου γενομένην πατηθέσαν ὑπὸ τῆς Κόρης εἰς τὴν κηπαλαν μινθην μεταβαλεῖν, ἣν τινες ἡδυσμὸν καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν "Αἰδουν πρὸς τῷ δρει τιμώμενον καὶ ὑπὸ Μακιστίων, καὶ Δήμητρος δλος ὑπερκειμένον τοῦ Πυλακοῦ πεδίον.* Here then, at the second of three sites for Pylus, is a temple and precinct of Hades in conjunction with Demeter,—Demeter being the goddess associated with him (1) at Olympia, (2) at Sparta, (3) at Hermione, and being also the goddess to whom the Malian Amphicytions made yearly sacrifice at Pylae, the northern Pylus.

³ For the religious associations of the Messenian Pylus, there is no direct evidence beyond that of the sacrifice to Poseidon of *Odyssey* 3. Indeed, whether even this is evidence depends on deciding finally that the Pylus of the *Odyssey* is in Messenia. Nor is the worship of Poseidon that of Hades, though certainly in constant alliance with it. Therefore, one must fall back upon such hints as are contained in the legend

The pre-Dorian Peloponnesus, then, constantly offered in its legends and traditions a mass of confusing and conflicting data, more confused as time went by. This is apparent throughout the peninsula, but a certain primacy in confusion and incessant flux certainly belongs to the western Peloponnesus. There cumulating waves of a constantly rising inundation from Aetolia were actively hemming in the old Pylian tribe-groups, crowding them always further south so that Pylus was driven from the Peneus across the Alpheus into Triphylia, and at last into Messenia beyond the Neda. Hence the equally conflicting topography of all and each of the Pylian towns. A general proclivity toward confederations of nine shews equally everywhere; at Argos, at Sparta, in Arcadia, and among the Pylians,¹ i. e. in Elis, Triphylia, and Messenia. But in these western districts changes had been constant and were still actively progressing when the legends underlying the Homeric poems took shape. Therefore, while the nine centres given for Argolis, Lacedaemon, and Arcadia respectively can easily be located, the nine Pylian centres flit and flicker in front of our pursuit. Following historical records back to their vanishing point, we began by reaching at Olympia the Pisatan league of nine cities. After the scrutiny just given to Pylus and the Pylians, it is perhaps admissible to see in the Pisatan league an historical residuum, so to speak, lending in some sort the confirmation of fact to that beautiful waking vision of the kingdom of Nestor which is flashed upon us in the third book of the *Odyssey*.

of Nestor's brother Periclymenus, which is certainly a link associating the Neleids with Hades. The Neleids are, however, no whit more closely associated with the Messenian than with the Triphylian or the Elean Pylus; hence, their manifest connexion with Hades worship elsewhere goes far to prove that the Poseidon cult of Messenian Pylus must have been a cult of Hades-Poseidon.

¹ For a brilliant appreciation of the bearings of the number nine insisted on in *Od. 3, 1-13*, at the Pylian sacrifice, see Vol. I, p. 100, of M. Victor Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (Colin, 1902), — a book unluckily not known to me until the present argument was complete and in print. Several of my pages read to me now like an affirmative answer to M. Bérard's illuminating question: “N'aurions nous pas ici le sacrifice fédéral de l'Amphictyonie Pylienne?”

III

THE OLYMPIC COUNCIL

Perhaps too little in the way of solid fact is available for solid conclusions to result from investigating the Olympic Council. Still, available material is not lacking, and certainly points toward some sort of theory as to the origin and early functions of a loosely constituted knot of elders busying themselves with the concerns of the sacred grove at Olympia. From some such body the Olympic Council (*Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλὴ*), first specifically named in inscriptions of the first two centuries of our era, lineally descended. Apart from the obvious trend at Olympia and elsewhere to revert to a conformity which aimed at antiquarian revival in the governance of ritual, there are striking analogies to substantiate this contention. At Eleusis the Hiera Gerousia, not specifically named until after the Christian era, was a revision and a revival of the immemorial control exercised by the Eumolpids and the Ceryces under the sovereign limitations of the paramount power of Athens. In much the same way the Olympic Council governed the concerns of Olympia under the paramount power of Elis. Corresponding to the Eumolpids and Ceryces at Eleusis, figure at Olympia the Iamids and Clytidae. In both places, these ancient priestly families stand for the controlling sacral tradition, an influence which, under Roman impulses, was more or less definitely crystallized: at Eleusis under the name of the Hiera Gerousia, at Olympia with the style of the Olympic Council. A similar exhibition of this Roman-Greek trend towards reviving and solidifying vague traditional prerogative is found in the definite status given to the ancient Areopagus at Athens. Just as Eumolpus and the Eumolpidae represented the specifically Eleusinian and non-Athenian tradition, so also at Olympia both Iamus and Clytius, belonging to the Arcadian contingent, represented traditions more distinctively aboriginal than those of the Aetolo-Eleans and the Hollow Elis of their occupation. To the conservatism through which these traditions were kept alive in both places is due the fact that the Councils of Eleusis and of Olympia, though each constantly figures as a fifth wheel in the machinery of the sanctuary, could never be merged in the sovereign senate of Athens, or the Elean Synedrion. The long

history of both religious centres must rather be guessed at, no doubt, than definitely and dogmatically set forth. But from such scanty records as are available we can derive some vague knowledge of the prehistoric day before Athens had won Eleusis to submission, and while the Aetolo-Eleans still lingered north of the Corinthian gulf. Customs and observances established in those early times certainly asserted their immemorial hold upon the sacred soil at Eleusis as well as at Olympia. Hence, under the Roman impulse for ordered regulation and clearly defined codification, emerged at the very last and officially the sacro-sacred Olympic Council and the Eleusinian Hiera Gerousia of Roman days.

Confirmation by way of contrast may perhaps be derived from the shadowy record that survives of the Amphictyonic Council at Delos, and from such more specific knowledge, — dating chiefly from the Macedonian supremacy, — as we have of the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi. At Delos, Pisistratus intervened with his drastic purification (Hdt. 1, 64 and Thuc. 3, 104) on the strength, no doubt, of religious ties binding the Marathonian Tetrapolis to the island of Apollo (Philochorus, fr. 158, speaks of a yearly *θεωπία*), and with such authority as may be implied in the Hyperborean legend wherein Attic Prasiae played a conspicuous part.¹ If to the intervention of Pisistratus that of Polycrates, who dedicated Rhenea, is added, the tacit assumption by both tyrants of such right to interfere as membership in an Amphictyonic league would give to Athens and Samos, goes far to prove that there was in those early days a Delian Amphictyony. But both of these interferences, as well as the later one of the Athenians in 426 B.C., convict the Delians of a sort of laxness in reverential observance of which neither Eleans nor Eleusinians were ever even suspected. The same cheerful preoccupation with amusement and with buying and selling vitiated Delian management alike in the earliest and the latest days.² The men of Delos were indeed never accounted sacrosanct in

¹ Hdt. 4, 33 does not mention Prasiae, but Pausanias (1, 31, 2) brings the Hyperborean gifts from Sinope διὰ Ἑλλήνων to Prasiae, and says the Athenians conveyed them to Delos. See Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.* IV, p. 357. Erysichthon, the founder of the Delian temple, was buried at Prasiae (Paus. 1, 17, 3 and 31, 2).

² Similar reasons prevented the Isthmia from seriously vying in popular estimation with the Olympia or the Pythia, although the religious observances at Corinth in

the service of Delian Apollo as the men of Elis were in that of Olympian Zeus. No Delian families appear either to have merited, or to have received, the universal consideration accorded in Greece to the Eumolpidae, the Iamidae, the Clytidae, and the Ceryces.¹ Hence, the Delian

honour of Poseidon and Melicertes appear to have been of older foundation than the earth oracle at Olympia, and thus the Isthmia as night mysteries had a prescriptive hold upon pre-Dorians,—not to speak of Athenians and Megarians,—when the Olympia were still parochial gatherings. As soon, however, as specifically athletic competitions focussed Hellenic religious enthusiasm, the Olympia came into the front rank (1) because at Olympia the festival was taken more simply, solemnly, and religiously (cf. Pindar's Isthmian Odes, IV and V, the latter of which begins with a prayer for an Olympian victory, while the former is replete with sympathetic consolation because the Olympian victory prayed for had not been won, and his third Isthmian Ode on a victory in the pancratium, the prelude to which celebrates a chariot victory at Nemea), (2) because Arcadia, Elis, and Messenia were an unrivalled training ground for athletes, the like of which Corinth never had, (3) because the Olympian management recognized only athletic and hippic events, whereas the Corinthians included many non-athletic contests, (4) because the Corinthians never lived exclusively for their games, as did the men of Elis and at Delphi. Commercial prosperity, and the varied interests of extensive trade in the earliest times, prevented the rise at Corinth of families like the Clytidae and the Ceryces; cf. Pindar's first and second Isthmian Odes, where commerce and questions of money intrude upon the lyric strain.

¹ The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo conveys the most faithful impression of the jolly Delians and their genially mundane festival in the early days. See for later times Athenaeus, p. 173 a-c, where, with much gossip discreditable to the Delians, Delos is proclaimed the Paradise of Parasites because it yields (a) a market wonderfully abounding in fish, and (b) a rabble of miscellaneous men all of them rich, not to speak of (c) the Delians themselves who are hangers-on of the god παράστοι τοῦ θεοῦ, a lampooning phrase borrowed with the whole indictment from Crato Comicus. For the contrasting seriousness of character implied in most characterizations of the inhabitants of Elis, see Xen. *Hell.* 3, 2, 23-26; and Strab. pp. 343, 358, and especially 355, which runs as follows: φασι δὲ τὸν Πισσάτα μὴ μερασχεῖν τοῦ Τροϊκοῦ πολέμου λερόν νομισθέντας τοῦ Διός. The most remarkable tribute is, however, that of Polybius (4, 73), so worded as to convey the strongest impression that he must have chapter and verse in some trustworthy ancient authority for what he says: δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ πάντα ταῦτα διὰ τὸ πλήθος μὲν τῆς χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ νομισθῆσαι, τὸ δὲ πλεῦστον διὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντά ποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς λερὸν βίον, ὅτε λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγχώρημα διὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων λερὸν καὶ ἀπέρθητον φύκουν τὴν Ἡλείαν, ἀπειροι παντὸς ὄντες δεινοῦ, καὶ πάσης πολεμικῆς περιστάσεως. For the whole context see the description of the πόλις of Elis given below, p. 53, note. As an offset to Crato's gossip against the Delians, it is perhaps only fair to note that the Eleans were frequently scored for stupidity and for πατεραστία and undoubtedly were inordinately addicted to both.

Amphictyony could have use only for Hellenotamiae,¹ collectors of moneys, while at Delphi there was scope for Hieromnemones, and the chief servants of the Olympian Amphictyony were in name and in fact Hellanodicae, umpires trusted for their fairness. Indeed it seems probable that such a thing as a Delian Amphictyonic Council, if it ever effectively existed at all, can only have done so during the first maritime confederacy of Athens (477-404 B.C.). If it existed before or afterwards, its being was clearly to no purpose, since the Delian festival ended as it began. There was little scope either for mystery or for reverence from the moment when the Delians were left to regulate their own affairs, lucrative no doubt and businesslike, but hardly requiring or admitting supervision by an ancient council which should even in the day of its decrepitude deserve the epithets *λαμπρότατη, ιερωτάτη, κρατίστη* and the like, bestowed constantly and in all sincerity on the Olympic Council and the Eleusinian Hiera Gerousia.

The parallel and the contrast between the Olympic Council and Hellanodicae taken in their relations to the Aetolo-Elean city-state with its senatorial Synedri on the one hand, and the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi with its Hieromnemones taken in their relation to the people and senate of Delphi on the other, is a most intricate puzzle. The Aetolo-Elean state, being the paramount power, had to be responsible for the Olympia just as the Amphictyons at Delphi, being vastly more powerful than the *πόλις* of Delphi, shouldered the financial management of the Pythia. This they did by some standing committee, perhaps the Hieromnemones, whereas the Eleans appointed their own board of Nomophylaces who instructed the Hellanodicae,—a representative board whose numbers varied with the variations in extent of the whole Elean domain, and whose connexion with the Olympic Council is demonstrable. The Hellanodicae did not act as representatives of that “oligarchy within an oligarchy,” the Elean Synedri. On the other hand, the Pisatan or pre-Dorian (Pylian) strain of the Iamidae and the Clytidae being unquestionable, as is also their prominence in priestly functions at Olympia, we must conclude that the Eleans, if they did not, like the Delphian Amphictyons, stand aloof from such functions, certainly did not monopolize them. The Delphians

¹ These are chiefly known to us as a purely Athenian magistracy gathering in dues from the Delian confederate allies.

and the Pisatans thus had similar functions in this regard. Finally the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi represented a league, whereas its Olympian parallel, the πόλις of Elis, was one homogeneous community of late-comers at the shrine. On the other hand, the one homogeneous community of Delphians has for its Olympian parallel the Olympic Council and ultimately the pre-Dorian (Pisatan) neighbourhood-league, into which Elis had been interpolated as an interloper.

A neighbourhood-league presumably somewhat like that of the nine Pisatan cities near Olympia undoubtedly existed at Eleusis in the early days, before Erechtheus prevailed and the district of Eleusis was merged in the Athenian πόλις.¹ And so the antecedents of the Hiera Gerousia derive, like those of the Olympic Council,² from a neighbourhood-league not dissimilar to the great Pylaean Amphictyony at Delphi.

Turning now to the extant inscriptions where the Olympic Council is named, we find that no one of these is certainly³ earlier than 14 A.D.,

¹ See von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 38 ff., where the region between Mt. Aegaleus and Megara, including Salamis and inland Phyle, is indicated as having been politically and otherwise centred at Eleusis.

² The legendary connexion of Acrisius with the effective evolution of the Delphian Amphictyony, the intervention of a pre-Dorian from the Peloponnesus who induced the Amphictyons of Anthela to identify their league with the Apolline sanctuary, prescribing rules and regulations to that end, is significant. The highly organized constitution of the Pylaean Amphictyony, which enabled it to direct the finances of the Delphian sanctuary as early as the sixth century B.C., is eloquent of an older experience than the political evolution of northern Greece could then supply. Just this experience had been accumulated before and since the palmy days of Mycenae in the Peloponnesus, whence Acrisius came. But if the untutored tribes of Thessaly could be induced by a Peloponnesian (to be described in very modern terms as a 'resident' or 'adviser') to constitute themselves into a holy alliance under Delphian Apollo, certainly the nomadic Pylians of the western Peloponnesus are not unlikely to have done the like for Hera and Olympian Zeus, or more strictly speaking for Demeter Chthonia and Hades-Poseidon. The most striking evidence for the intervention of Acrisius is from two sources, Strabo and a scholiast. Strabo (p. 420) after a description of Delphi, and of the need there of the 'Αμφικτυονικὸν σύστημα, proceeds to a history of the latter: τὰ πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἀγνοεῖται, 'Ακρίσιος τῶν μνημονομένων πρῶτος διατάξαι δοκεῖ τὰ περὶ τοὺς 'Αμφικτύονας καὶ πόλεις ἀφορίσαι τὰς μετεχόντας τοῦ συνέδρου καὶ ψῆφον ἐκάστη δοῦναι . . . ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ καὶ τὰς 'Αμφικτυονικὰ δίκας δοσαι πόλεις πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν. The full-fledged legend is given by the scholiast on Eur. *Or.* 1094, for the full text of which see above, p. 25, n. 1.

³ *OI.* Text V, No. 427, may date from 20 B.C.

the earliest possible date for the inscription¹ on the pedestal where stood the statues at Olympia of Germanicus Caesar and Drusus Caesar, dedicated by ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἡλείων καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλή. This same formula occurs in eight other dedicatory inscriptions of the first century A.D.² Seven of that century remain, there being seventeen in all; of these, two³ are decreed by the Ἐλλανοδίκαι καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλή with no mention of the πόλις of Elis; four⁴ are decreed by the πόλις of Elis without the Hellanodicae or the Olympic Council; while one, No. 439, differs from all the others in that, so far as public authorities go, it is merely permissive. It was inscribed under the statue of the Spondēphorus Claudius Lucenus Saclarus, dedicated by Chrysarete, his widow, ψηφίσματι τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν συνέδρων by vote of the Olympic Council and of the people and senate of Elis. Chrysarete was anxiously and pathetically specific for fear, no doubt, lest the memory she delighted to honour might suffer. Therefore, her inscription is, as it were, a gloss upon the other and briefer ones. From hers we learn that the two inscriptions where no mention of the Elean πόλις occurs along with that of the Olympic Council and the Hellanodicae do not insert these last as representing Elis. This leaves the Olympian Hellanodicae, like the Hieromnemones and Pylagori at Delphi, as in some sort the executive arm of an Amphictyonic Council,—just the case of the Delian Hellanotamiae up to the time when the confederate moneys were transferred to Athens. Of the fifteen second century inscriptions, eight are permissive, like Chrysarete's.⁵ Nos. 460 f. record simply authorization by the Olympic Council, Elis being ignored. No. 453 records authorization by the Ἡλείων βουλή —a blunder for the Olympic Council.⁶ For this blunder two of the

¹ *Ib.*, No. 372.

² *Ib.*, Nos. 427, 429, 431-434, 437, and 446.

³ *Ib.*, Nos. 406 f.

⁴ *Ib.*, Nos. 408 f., 435, and 438. The earliest dedications o. statues, in the first century B.C. and before, have as a rule no mention of public authority. Where there is such it is the πόλις of the Eleans without the Olympic Council or any other authority.

⁵ Even in the first century A.D. it was not absolutely necessary to record the authorization permitting the erection of a statue, see *OI.* Text V, No. 450.

⁶ The Senate of Elis, a very peculiar oligarchical body (cf. Aristotle's *Politics* 5, 6, 11), is always designated in inscriptions by the word συνέδριον (see in *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* IX, 1894, Dr. Wernicke's "Olympische Beiträge," III, p. 131, n. 5).

four remaining make amends; neither mentions Elis, but both couple a reverential epithet with the record of authorization by the Olympic Council;¹ the remaining two repeat the blunder of No. 453, but couple the epithets *ιερωτάτης*² and *κρατίστης*³ with the mention of that figment of the untutored mind, the Ἡλείων βουλή. The remaining seven second century decrees shew the Olympic Council *only* in three cases,⁴ that Council and the πόλις of Elis in three cases;⁵ in one case, No. 463, we find the Olympic Council and the δῆμος of Elis. Carelessness, more especially in the unofficial records of official authorizations for dedications privately made, like Chrysarete's, was not unknown, as we have seen, in the second century; in the third this vagueness of mind appears at every turn. As a rule, official authorization is indicated by Ψ B (*ψηφίσματι βουλῆς*), two letters seen sprawling in the blank space at the end of the inscription.⁶

Thus by the third century A.D., the authorization of honorific statues by the Olympic Council with the Hellanodicae on the one hand, and on the other by the people and senatorial Synedri of Elis,—so punctiliously, nay almost ostentatiously recited in the first century by Chrysarete,—had become a mere formula of two letters, the addition of which depended largely upon the mood or whim of the casual stone-cutter. No archaic revival henceforth could resuscitate the consequence of the once sacrosanct Council of the Iamidae and Clytidae. Not officially prominent in inscriptions and records of earlier date than the Christian era, this Council performed, nevertheless, in the fourth century B.C. and earlier, functions of no small importance for the administration of the

¹ No. 449: *συνεπιψηφισαμένης καὶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ὀλυμπικῆς βουλῆς*. The epithet in No. 471 is *ιερωτάτης*.

² No. 459.

³ No. 458.

⁴ Nos. 454 f. and 457.

⁵ Nos. 456 and 466 f., which are in this respect identical with Nos. 427, 429, 431–434, 437, and 446.

⁶ See *Ol. Text V*, Nos. 473 f., 477 f., 484, and 486 f. No. 355 has “B” appended quite inappropriately, it being an official decree of the Olympic Council, which is accordingly named in the regular way in the body of the document itself. No. 378 is a new instance of the purely mechanical addition of “Ψ B” without rhyme or reason. All cases of the use of this too mechanical abbreviation date from the third century. The inference is that the stone-cutter put in “Ψ B” if it happened to occur to him, without supervision and without troubling his head to find out whether there had been an authorizing vote of the Olympic Council or not.

Olympian sanctuary. In 396 B.C. (Ol. 96) Eupolemus of Elis won the stadium race by the award of the three Hellanodicae in charge of that event. Leon, the Ambraciote, against whom they made the award, appealed to the Olympic Council¹ against both of the adverse umpires,

¹ Paus. 6, 3, 7 speaks simply of the *βουλή*, but can only mean the 'Ολυμπική *βουλή*'. His words, not technically descriptive of an appeal, are quoted from the pedestal of Eupolemus' statue as the victor: *ώς χρημάτων καταδικάσαιτο δέ Λέων ἐπί τῆς Ολυμπικῆς βουλῆς ἐκάτερον τῶν Ἐλλανοδίκων, οἱ νικᾶν τὸν Εἴπολεμον ἔγνωσαν*. The discovery at Olympia of the actual inscription dedicating the statue proves (*a*) that the award was not reversed, (*b*) that the third Hellanodicas, whose vote was vainly given for Leon, might have been the *πρέδρος* of the Olympic Council in the session where his two colleagues were fined. So in the trial of Agis, king of Sparta, Leonidas, his aggrieved coadjutor, must have been the *πρέδρος* of the Gerontes when Agis was condemned to death (so much may also be read between the lines of Plut. *Agis* 19). The term appeal is as appropriate in the present case, where the Olympic Council was called on to pass on a decision of the Hellanodicae, its executive arm, as it is in translating the Athenian law-term *ἔφεσις*. See Pollux, 8, 62, where *ἔφεσις* is defined as the procedure whenever a litigant changes the *venue* of his case from this or that magistrate to a judge, *ὅταν τις ἀπὸ διαιτητῶν ἢ ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ δικαστὴν ἐφῆ*, or it may be from the council to the people, or from the people to a court. In the case of Eupolemus, the award of victory by the Hellanodicae was, in so far as it affected the loser Leon, summary action restraining him from receiving the prize, and may be compared to that summary intervention of the *πρέδρος* indicated by Demosthenes *In Meid.* 179 by *ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβάλλειν*, the lawful recourse, in place of unlawful assault and battery, open to Meidias. Sentences, awards of fines of this summary character, known as *ἐπιβολαί*, could under Attic procedure always be met by the party sentenced with the requirement that the matter be reviewed and passed upon by a court with a possibility of reversal. In the case of Eupolemus, the victory proclaimed could not be annulled, but the review resulted in a disavowal and a fine of the unjust umpires. The magistrate whose *ἐπιβολή* was demurred to in Athens, was always the one who laid it before the court of appeal. In the classical instance (*C. I. A.* 2, 573 b) we have a recorded decree dictating the procedure when summary *ἐπιβολή* is demurred to: *ἐνηφίσθαι Πειραιεύσιν, ἐάν τις τι τούτων παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ, ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλόντα τὸν δῆμαρχον εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*.

The magistrate (*δῆμαρχος*) against whose *ἐπιβολή* demur is made is charged with the presidency of the court appealed to (Aristot. *Pol.* 4, 16, 1, p. 1300, b, 22). This analogy confirms the otherwise probable view that the Hellanodicae gave their summary awards as the executive of the Olympic Council, and that the approval of that Council was implicit in all their acts. This squares completely, so far as the provision of an appeal from the Hellanodicae to the Council goes, with the Attic *ἔφεσις* (Meier and Schömann, *Der attische Process*, p. 988) as only implying "Die Erklärung dass man sich bei dem Ausspruch des Magistrates nicht beruhige und das Urtheil eines

and they were fined. This episode, taken in connexion with the two honorific inscriptions decreed by the Hellanodicae and the Olympic Council, evidently as one body, indicates that the former were the executive arm, so to speak, of the latter. Hence the manner in which the Hellanodicae were chosen may give some indication of the constitution of the whole Olympic Council. Pausanias' account of the matter (5, 9, 4 *ad fin.*) throws a good deal of light upon dark places, but only when subjected to a somewhat drastic and painstaking criticism. He says: 'There has been a good deal of variation from the original constitution of the presidency of the games (τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀ καθεστηκότα ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐσ αὐτοὺς νομίζοντιν). Iphitus instituted the contest single-handed (αὐτὸς μόνος) and the same is true of the whole line of Oxylyus.' Here Iphitus and his successors, who like him were of the γένος of Oxylyus, represent those late-comers, the Aetolo-Eleans, and the words *αὐτὸς μόνος* make it only too evident that here, as often, Pausanias is reproducing the ἀρχαῖα γράμματα of the Aetolo-Eleans, without heeding the conflicting tradition of the Iamidae. These in fact flatly contradict the *αὐτὸς μόνος* of the ἀρχαῖα γράμματα,¹ and in so doing doubtless come indefinitely near to representing actual historical fact. They are preserved in two obscure places: (a) in the surviving remnants from the first book of the Ὀλυμπιάδες of Phlegon of Tralles,² and (b) in a scholium on the fifth book of Plato's *Republic*.³ Both of these accounts mani-

Gerichtshofes verlange.' But this and every other analogy from Attic procedure applies to Elean facts only so far as it may seem likely that the Eleans from time to time thought out their cases, and dotted the *i*'s and crossed the *t*'s of their procedure.

¹ Pausanias says that he consulted the Ἡλεῖων ἀρχαῖα γράμματα about Iphitus (5, 4, 6: τὰ δὲ Ἡλεῖων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐσ πατέρα διώνυμον ἀνήγε τὸν Ἰφίτον). Here he also consulted a conflicting genealogy given in an inscription at Olympia. This was at variance with the ἀρχαῖα γράμματα, and Pausanias also gives still a third genealogy, saying of it very significantly that it is the one believed in by the Greeks generally. From this we are forced to conclude that the Eleans' ἀρχαῖα γράμματα were like their arguments to prove that the true Homeric Pylus was on the Peneus, so much ridiculed by Strabo, see above, p. 19, n. 3. Plainly there was a school of Elean enthusiasts who in these ἀρχαῖα γράμματα urged upon the deaf ears of Greece at large an unhistorical glorification of the past greatness of their native parish.

² Cf. C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, p. 602.

³ On the words (in 465 d): ξήσουσι τοῦ μακαρίστου βίου ὅν οἱ Ὀλυμπιονίκαι ξῶσι μακαριώτερον.

festly derive from the same source, which the scholiast reports as follows: 'After the time of Pisus, Pelops, and Heracles, who first established the games, they lapsed through neglect for twenty-eight Olympiads. Then Iphitus and Lycurgus, who were Heracidae, and Cleosthenes, son of Cleonicus, came upon the scene and exhorted the Peloponnesians to concord. Meanwhile they despatched inquiring messengers to Delphi. Apollo's oracle was for renewal of the games, the meed of victory to be a gift of oleaster. As for these worthies (*οι δέ*), they entrusted the Eleans with the management, and the Eleans turned it over to the Pisatans.¹ The games take place every four years (*διὰ πέντε ἔτῶν μέσον τεσσάρων συντελουμένων*). As for Elis and Pisa they are cities of the Peloponnesus 300 stadia apart.'

In his life of Lycurgus, Plutarch says that that lawgiver's name was inscribed on the quoit of Iphitus, and Pausanias read it there in archaically disposed characters, along with the terms in which the Olympic truce had been proclaimed ever since the day of Iphitus, Cleosthenes, and Lycurgus. Plutarch, at all events, cites Aristotle as averring on the strength of this inscription² that Lycurgus was contemporary with Iphitus,³ and that these two joined in instituting the Olympian truce. All this completely discredits just that particular in Pausanias' Aetolo-Elean version which the Eleans were likely to invent,—that Iphitus acted single-handed. That particular being discredited by the establishment on independent evidence of a fact asserted in the rival Pisatan or Iamid version,—that Lycurgus joined Iphitus in instituting the *ἐκεχειρία*

¹ οἱ δὲ (Iphitus, Lycurgus, and Cleosthenes) τοὺς Ἡλεῖοις ἐπιτρέποντι διαθεῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς Πισάτας.

² Paus. 5, 20, 1: ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους ἐπαγγέλλοντας Ἡλεῖοι, ταῦτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺν ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ κάκλον σχῆμα περείσων ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα. Plut. *Lycurgus* I, 1: οἱ μὲν . . . ὡν ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέροντι τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν φῷ τοῦ νομα τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον. The word *διασώζεται* may perhaps imply that it was barely legible in Plutarch's day; if this be so, the name of Cleosthenes may easily have been obliterated by the time when Pausanias viewed the quoit in the Heraeum.

³ Pausanias (5, 4, 4) mentions Lycurgus as contemporary with Iphitus, but implies that the Spartan lawgiver had nothing to do with organizing the Olympia, thus once more insisting on the fiction of the Elean *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* that Iphitus originated the Olympia single-handed. See above, pp. 7, 9, 12, 14 note, and 15.

— we are justified in accepting the rival version of the Pisatan Iamids as to the part taken by Cleosthenes. At the same time, it is but fair to reject in the Pisatan version a detail which is obviously likely to have been of Aetolo-Elean inspiration,—the lame conclusion that the Eleans, entrusted with the presidency, handed it over to the Pisatans. Judicious sifting of authorities, therefore, establishes a working hypothesis as to the organization of the Council after the Dorian invasion. A pre-Dorian countryside habit of gathering at Olympia took definite shape. The organizers were Iphitus for the Aetolo-Eleans and Cleosthenes for the older order of the immemorial meeting of Pisatans. That Lycurgus also joined them is natural, since, if the games were to appeal to the Peloponnesus at large, some representative of the newly established Dorians was indispensable. It appears then that the Olympic games, as soon as the proclamation of a binding truce was provided for, were ruled, not by Iphitus or any one Aetolo-Elean, but by one Elean and one Pisatan. This conclusion is confirmed by four definite witnesses. The first two are Hellanicus and Aristodemus, quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* 3, 12, as saying that the number of the Hellanodicae was two at first and ten at the last.¹ The third witness is the unknown

¹ περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλανοδίκων ἀριθμοῦ Ἑλλάνικός φησι καὶ Ἀριστόδημος, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρώτον β' τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἵ, τοιαῦται γὰρ αἱ τῶν Ἡλείων φῦλαι, καὶ ἀφ' ἐκάστης εἴς ἦν Ἑλλανοδίκης. The φῦλαι of the Eleans were never, so far as the records and legends concerning them may justify a universal negative, two in number. Hence the two Hellanodicae of earliest times can have nothing to do with the φῦλαι of Elis (in the strict and narrow sense of Hollow Elis). Indeed, Harpocration (*s. v.* 'Ἑλλανοδίκαι') quotes Aristodemus (miscalling him δ 'Ἡλεῖος) in such terms as to shew that only the latter-day ten Hellanodicae had to do with the Elean φῦλαι. His words are: 'Ἀριστόδημος δ' δ 'Ἡλεῖος φησι τοὺς τελευταῖους τιθέντας τὸν ἀγώνα Ἑλλανοδίκας εἶναι ἵ δρ' ἐκάστης φῦλης ἔνα. Aristodemus of Nysa in Asia Minor, not far from Tralles, was Strabo's master and the son of Menecrates, a pupil of Aristarchus (Strab., p. 650), and wrote a work in three or more books on Pindar; cf. Athenaeus, p. 495 f.: 'Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Πινδάρου. Against this statement of Aristodemus and Hellanicus stands Aristotle, quoted by Harpocration as saying in his 'Ἡλείων πολιτείᾳ: τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἔνα καταστῆσαι τοὺς Ἡλείους Ἑλλανοδίκην, χρόνον δὲ διελθόντος β', τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον θ'. Here Aristotle was presumably reproducing the ἀρχαῖα γράμματα of the Eleans, whereas Hellanicus and Aristodemus represent the contrary mind of Pisatan tradition followed by Greeks outside of Elis. See the preceding note.

source of the definition of Hellanodicae in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, running as follows: 'Elean magistrates in charge of all that concerned the Olympic contest, so named because in the presence of the Greeks (*παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι*) they dealt justice (*ἐδίκαζον*) to the athletes and the other contestants. They took their seats during the festival (*ἐν τῷ δύων*) arrayed in purple robes (*πορφυρῖδα περιβεβλημένοι*). Anciently they numbered two, then nine, and lastly eight.'¹ The fourth confirming witness lurks behind an utterance of Tzetzes (*Chil.* 12, 368): *ἡσαν Ἑλλανοδίκαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀμφικτυνόνων, οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἡλεῖοι*, 'the Hellanodicae were taken from the Amphictyons, who were more particularly Aetolians, and Eleans with them.' Here Aetolians can only mean Aetolo-Eleans, while Eleans must indicate the Pisato-Arcadians of the pre-Dorian neighbourhood-league of nine at Olympia. Apart from the manifestly confused evidence of Strabo, which first suggested to the present writer the notion of an Olympian Amphictyony in pre-Dorian times, this is the ancient authority that countenances by direct implication the theory of this paper. Our unknown informant has in mind just the joint action of Iphitus and Cleosthenes spoken of by Phlegon of Tralles. Iphitus was entitled to the royal purple. But it is incredible, on Pausanias' theory that Iphitus and successive Oxylids managed the games single-handed until the 50th Olympiad, and that then the management was put in charge of two Agonothetae (Hellanodicae) — on that shewing, it is incredible that both of these later dignitaries should have donned the royal insignia. All parallel cases of the survival of kingship are in flat opposition to such a possibility in Greece. If, on the other hand, the Iamid tradition holds, then there were two Hellanodicae from the beginning, one for the Pisatan league, and one for the Aetolo-Eleans, and both of

¹ The copyists have subjected these numbers to confusion by permutation, for the MSS. read: *καὶ ἡσαν οὐτοι τὸ μὲν πάλαι ἐντέλαι· εἴτε δύο καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον η'*. But the points of especial moment are (*a*) that even if the permutation of the scribe is left uncorrected, there is no question of a single Hellanodicas (in the earliest times or at any time), as Aristotle and the Elean *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* require, and (*b*) that the appearance of the Hellanodicae in public, arrayed both of them in the royal purple, means that they were originally kings or chieftains respectively of the Pisatans and the Eleans.

kingly status.¹ Both then would wear the purple, just as did both kings at Sparta.

Indeed, if we now at last return to Pausanias with this correction, our account of the matter can really be read between his lines. Having, in the first part of his sentence, duly launched the Elean official contention that Iphitus founded the Olympia single-handed, he is confronted with the fact,—undeniable apparently even in his day,—that clear evidence existed shewing that there were two Hellanodicae at the time of the 50th Olympiad. Accordingly he ends his sentence by saying that *after that date* the Olympia were managed by two individuals taken by lot from all the Eleans. This is absurd, since it presupposes the existence of a democracy at Elis in days when nothing is so sure as the rule of a very close oligarchy.² The puzzle is solved³ by cutting the

¹ Pausanias (5, 1, 11) speaks of Amarynceus as a stranger (Thessalian) admitted by Augeas to a share of rule (*ἀρχῆς*), and adds that Actor and his sons, who were of indigenous stock (*γένεος ἐπιχώριον*), also had a share of kingship (*βασιλεῖας τε μετῆς σφίσιν*). His further account (5, 3, 3 f.) with its reference to *Il. 2, 615–624* is confused. See also Nestor's allusion (*Il. 11, 698–701*) to games,—involving Pylians and Epeans,—held in Elis by Augeas, and again his reminiscences (*Il. 23, 630–642*) of funeral games held by the Epeans for Amarynceus, in which figured Epeans, genuine Pylians (*ἀτρῶν Πυλιῶν*) and Aetolians.

² See Arist. *Pol.* 5, 6, 11. To illustrate the instability of an oligarchy where an especially privileged few form *ἐν τῷ διλγαρχίᾳ ἐτέραν διλγαρχίαν*, Aristotle says: *ὅπερ ἐν Ἡλίδι συνέβη ποτέ, τῆς πολιτείας γάρ δι' ὀλίγων οὐσης τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο διὰ τὸ αἰδοῦς εἶναι ἐνηρήκοντα θντας, τὴν δ' αἰρεσιν δυναστευτικὴν εἶναι καὶ δυοῖς τῇ τῶν ἐν Δακεδαμονι γερόντων.* The real triumph of democracy at Elis,—not a long-lived one,—did not come until the end of the 89th Olympiad (420 B.C.), when, with the Argives and the Mantineans, the Eleans joined the Athenians against Sparta (Paus. 5, 12, 8). In 401–400 B.C., Thrasydaeus, leader of the Elean demos, expelled Xenias and the aristocrats (Paus. 3, 8, 4, and Xen. *Hell.* 3, 2, 21 end). At some time before Ol. 104 the aristocrats had regained full control (Xen. *Hell.* 7, 4, 14 end). No move towards democratic institutions can have been made until after the Persian wars, for until then Elis was not an organized *πόλις*.

³ For attempts at solution see Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias* 2, p. 316, note on *ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἀπάρτων λαχοῦσιν Ἡλεῖων*. After saying that the literal fact as stated by Pausanias is “undenkbar,” because it presupposes democratic institutions in an oligarchic constitution, the editors conclude: “alle Eleier sind also in Wahrheit nur alle eleischen Oligarchen.” The same ingenuity with much the same result is shewn by M. G. Glotz (Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v. Hellanodikai*), whose translation of Pausanias' words just cited above reads “pris indistinctement dans les grandes familles

Gordian knot. There was no change in the number of the Hellanodicae at the 50th Olympiad. Change there was in 580 B.C., but hardly that change. Mr. E. Norman Gardiner writes me that "From an athletic point of view, the period from Ol. 50 to Ol. 75 was the most glorious in the history of the festival." The 50th Olympiad may well stand for the time when lately colonized Hellenic dominions beyond the sea began to send ever increasing throngs to any and every Peloponnesian festival. About that time, 582 B.C., the Isthmia at Corinth were reorganized, the Nemea were founded at Cleonae in 576 B.C., and athletic events were first introduced into the Panathenaea (566 B.C.). Just then the Olympia outgrew the countryside regulations that had answered hitherto. For thirty years, since the Geloans had been frequenting their house on the terrace, built *ca.* 610 B.C., people from over the sea had frequented the games in numbers constantly increasing, so that, ten years before the date in question, *ca.* 590 B.C., the Megarians and the Metapontines built themselves headquarters alongside of the Geloans' treasury. To cope with the multiplicity of business thus involved, were required not more Hellanodicae to give orders, but definite subalterns to see that orders given were obeyed. Such subalterns were doubtless the new managers mistaken by Pausanias for Hellanodicae. Some successful business reorganization certainly took place *ca.* 580 B.C., for the resort from outside the Peloponnesus so increased during the next twenty years, that two significant things happened in 550 B.C.: (1) the first *Βουλευτήριον*, — the north wing of the completed structure, — was built, obviously for meetings of the Council and also to facilitate the despatch of business by the Hellanodicae and their officers, and (2) to the three communal houses or treasuries earliest built were added three new ones as headquarters for the Cyrenaens, the Sybarites, and the

d'Élis." His explanation is that Pausanias, having just spoken of the sole management by one member of one great Elean *γένος*, the Oxyliidae, then speaks of the institution of two managers taken from all the great houses indifferently. M. Glotz, however, shews great insight by adding that the institution of two managers for the games must date back to the time when Elis and Pisatis each had a manager or president. Such indeed is the opinion of Gilbert and others. But their opinion on this point does not fit in with the remaining facts, as known, without some such reconsideration and readjustment of the whole history of the Hellanodicae as is attempted in the present paper.

Byzantines respectively. Pausanias' notion that the new officers first chosen in 580 B.C. were Hellanodicae is indeed put out of court by Strabo's very categorical, though by no means historical, statement that the Eleans had the presidency of the games and of the temple ceremonial (*προστασίαν ἀλλον τοῦ τε ἵεροῦ καὶ τοῦ δύναος Ἡλέων*) from the first to the 26th Olympiad, whereas after that the Pisatans resumed what was theirs by right and managed the games themselves, because they realized that they were in high repute (*οἱ Πισάται τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτοὶ συνετέλουν, τὸν δύναον δρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντα*). This explanation Strabo gives (p. 355) after judiciously rejecting various legends,¹ and significantly omitting all mention of Iphitus.² Here then we have manifestly Strabo's condemnation of Pausanias' Elean *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα*. Pausanias himself is so far conscious of the important part played by the Pisatans from the first that he represents them as having, out of a reprehensible desire to gain control, summoned Phidon of Argos, with whom they celebrated the 8th Olympiad. Again he says that the Pisatans, under their king Pantaleon, gathered an army and celebrated the 34th Olympiad instead of the Eleans (*ἀντὶ τῶν Ἡλείων*).³

Thus the notion, invented by the Eleans, that they were in sole charge from the first to the 50th Olympiad is incompatible alike with Strabo's account of the 27th and with Pausanias' references to the 8th and 34th Olympiads. During all these years, up to the 50th Olympiad (580 B.C.), there was a loosely organized *condominium* at the Olympia of the Aetolo-Eleans and the Pisato-Arcadians, each being represented

¹ τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πολλαχῶς λέγεται καὶ οὐ πάντα πιστεύεται.

² His only mention of Iphitus is in a long citation from Ephorus, on p. 358: *Ιφιτόν τε θεῖναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν δύναντα*.

³ 6, 22, 2. Pausanias then proceeds to speak of Ol. 104, which with Ol. 8 and Ol. 34 was suppressed, he says, by the Eleans, i. e. they were all discounted as Anolympiads. There is reason to believe that the only genuinely historical Anolymпиad was the 104th, the two others being reflections or projections of it into a past where, as a matter of fact, the Eleans played no such conspicuous rôle as they were fond of maintaining they did. Their self-satisfactory view of history enabled them to give a highly coloured version of certain episodes, corresponding to Strabo's account of the 27th Olympiad. This last cannot be squared with early Elean supremacy. The real explanation of all these cross-currents of conflicting narrative is probably found in the joint presidency or *condominium* of Pisatis and Elis at Olympia from the 1st to the 75th Olympiad.

by one of the two Hellanodicae, a *βασιλεύς* in the royal purple.¹ It seems not improbable that the representative of the Aetolo-Eleans, having behind him a more energetic and compact community, might naturally gain the lead. His colleague would certainly be at some disadvantage as representing a loose combination of tribe-centres. In any case the Aetolo-Eleans at Olympia would be sure to respect chiefly, if not solely, the authority of their *βασιλεύς* or Hellanodicas, while Pisatans would yield a similar deference to the Pisatan magnate. This being premised, it becomes easy to make some sort of sense out of the word *Ἐλλανοδίκας* in the early Olympian inscription,² which has been so much discussed. Its opening words *μάρτρα τοῖς φαλείοις* indicate that it concerns the Aetolo-Eleans only, who have recourse to the award of their individual *Ἐλλανοδίκας*: 'Patrias and his family and his goods are to be free (*θαρρήν*) of the state. Should any threaten him with a curse, let him (sc. who thus threatens) be banished because Patrias is an Elean. And should the *βασιλᾶς* and their chief magistrate *οὐ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι* not award justice, let each so failing to award forfeit ten minas for sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, the Hellanodicas to decree the fine while the Damiourgia (*ά δαμιουργία*) is to decree the other just penalties.' Such is the tentative interpretation of this earliest inscription,³ the only one where one *Ἐλλανοδίκας* is mentioned. Kirchhoff, who is alone⁴ in thinking that this inscription implies the

¹ The two Hellanodicae would thus act as judges in all events,—an awkward arrangement in case of disagreement no doubt, but quite practicable, so long as the spirit of professionalism was absent. Time was when two umpires, one for each side, were quite sufficient for foot-ball games.

² *OI.* Text V, No. 2; Roberts, No. 292, pp. 287 and 289.

³ I have adopted Purgold-Dittenberger's interpretation so far as I could gather it from their commentary. For one of several other views, see Roberts, p. 364.

⁴ Comparetti, on the strength of Pindar's *ἀτρεκῆ Ἐλλανοδίκας* (*OI.* 3, 12)—used be it noted after 472 B.C. when certainly the Hellanodicae were a board of nine,—thinks the singular is used for the plural or dual. Meister believes there was a delimitation of powers between the two Hellanodicae, an arrangement so familiar that he who ran would know of it without further indication in the inscription. Dr. Purgold tentatively suggests a rotation in duty established between the two Hellanodicae, whereby *Ἐλλανοδίκας* would mean the Hellanodicas in charge. This last interpretation is least open to objection; but in an Elean decree like the one in hand, the Hellanodicas figures among several specifically Elean magistrates,—(a) *οἱ βασιλᾶς*, (b) *καὶ οὐ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι*, and (c) *ά δαμιουργία*,—simply as one exercising

existence of only one Hellanodicas, and who therefore dates it before Ol. 50, has not realized how utterly parochial, on his own shewing as on every other interpretation suggested, is this unique decree. It concerns local citizenship at Elis, and the Hellanodicas only comes in because one part of the penalties provided involves sacrifices at Olympia. The remaining penalties are specifically entrusted to the Elean Damiourgia. Purgold-Dittenberger, although rejecting Kirchhoff's reason for it, nevertheless accept his date, and therefore this early decree, though it throws no light on the number of the Hellanodicae, may safely be accepted as proving that the Eleans had at Olympia, to enforce their local ordinances, a representative whom they called ὁ Ἑλλανοδίκας.

Harking back once more to Pausanias' text in 5, 9, 4, we find him proceeding to speak of the supersession of the two managers of the Olympia by the institution of nine Ἑλλανοδίκαι. His words may be thus translated: 'On the 50th Olympiad the celebration was handed over to two men chosen by lot from all the Eleans and for a very long while (*ἐπὶ πλείστον*) after that the number of the ἀγωνοθέται continued to be two; but on the 25th Olympiad the Eleans put in nine Hellanodicae.'¹ What does the 25th Olympiad here mean? Surely the context answers. The decisive context is found in the first five words in the last clause immediately preceding and the first five words in the sentence immediately succeeding. The clause preceding begins: *καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου*, 'and for a long time afterward,' —after the 50th Olympiad,—'the number of the ἀγωνοθέται was maintained at two.' Immediately upon this he says: *πέμπτη δὲ Ὁλυμπιάδι καὶ είκοστῇ*, 'but on the 25th Olympiad they put in nine Hellanodicae.' Then the sentence after begins: *δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὁλυμπιάδι*, 'then in the second Olympiad after this one a tenth Hellanodicas was added.' The Olympiad from which these last two are counted is undeniably the one indicated as the 25th in the first clause of the sentence preceding, and the words *ἀπὸ ταύτης* are required

jurisdiction at Olympia. The Elean Hellanodicas would inevitably be the one Elean magistrate in charge. If, as the whole present argument maintains, his colleague was a Pisatan, none but the Elean Hellanodicas can possibly be meant.

¹ *πεντηκοστῇ δὲ Ὁλυμπιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἡλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὁλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν δύο, πέμπτη δὲ Ὁλυμπιάδι καὶ είκοστῇ ἐννέα Ἑλλανοδίκας κατέστησαν.*

because of a long second clause intervening. But no equivalent for those words was absolutely essential with $\piέμπτη\ \delta\ \kappa\acute{a}\ \acute{e}ικοστη\ 'Ολυμπιαδ\acute{a}$, because an exact equivalent for them in the words $\acute{a}π\acute{a}\ \acute{e}κείνον$ (counting from the 50th Olympiad) has been given at the end of the sentence immediately preceding, only separated from the full stop by seven words.¹ Pausanias plainly, though clumsily, means that on the 75th Olympiad nine Hellanodicae were put in charge, their specific duties being assigned to them in three groups of sub-committees of three each.² Then two Olympiads later, in the 77th Olympiad, says Pausanias, the tenth was added.

The reason why mere clumsiness, by no means rare in Pausanias, has been a stumbling block in this particular passage is not far to seek. There has been no adequate recognition of the fact that a very epoch-making change, not only in the constitution, but also in the organization of the Olympia, dates from the morrow of Plataea, when the Elean contingent, arriving too late for the fray, turned upon their incompetent leaders and finally expelled them from Elis (Hdt. 9, 77). That this promptly culminated in the belated organization of Elis as a city-state; that the efficiency of the new board of nine Hellanodicae entirely depended on new arrangements made when the board was constituted in the newly created city of Elis; that there are traces of the more efficient ordering of the Olympia thus brought to pass during the last two years of the 75th Olympiad,—all these things appear in the accounts of the great patriotic celebration of the 76th Olympiad. The one decisive conflict, by which the new Elean policy of effectiveness in management was put on a permanent footing, took place in Ol. 77, and resulted in the building of Libon's great temple, and in other Elean

¹ For perfect clearness, an entire remodelling of the three sentences would have been necessary. The expression $\acute{a}π\acute{a}\ \acute{e}κείνον$ (*sc.* $\tau\acute{a}\chi\rho\acute{a}\nu\acute{o}\nu$), referring to the 50th Olympiad, intervenes to prevent his using $\acute{a}π\acute{a}\ \tau\acute{a}\nu\acute{t}\eta\acute{s}$ (= $\acute{a}π\acute{a}\ \acute{e}κείνον$) with the 25th Olympiad, and practically forces him to resort to an ellipse which is by no means a violent one. When Hitzig-Blümner say that if Pausanias had meant the 75th Olympiad, he would have written $\piέμπτη\ \delta\ \acute{a}π\acute{a}\ \tau\acute{a}\nu\acute{t}\eta\acute{s}\ \kappa\acute{a}\ \acute{e}ικοστη\acute{s}$, they forget that their author often studies variety at the expense of clearness. The elaborated jerkiness of the calculated flop whereby Pausanias often achieves narrative progression is nowhere more clearly characterized than in the passage in hand.

² See the case of Eupolemus and Leon, *supra*, p. 39.

constructions to accommodate the festival concourse, as well as in the building of the *προεδρία* or new south wing of the Olympian Council House. If all this is true, then there should be an end to the attempted emendations of the passage where Pausanias fixes upon the 75th Olympiad as a turning point in the history of the Hellanodicae. To have done with his account of changes made at this time, note his statement that in the 103d Olympiad the districts of Elis were raised to twelve, and with them the number of Hellanodicae. One represented each district, it seems, for when, in the 104th Olympiad, Elis lost four districts, the Hellanodicae were reduced to eight. In Ol. 108 the old number of ten was reinstated.

Now at last may be attempted an application to the Olympic Council of facts, not unlaboriously disentangled, concerning the Hellanodicae. There is no inscription of early date which either mentions or throws any light on the existence of a Council at Olympia, unless it be one whose closing words run *ἀνεὺς βωλὰν καὶ ζάμον πλαθύοντα* (*Ol. Text V, No. 3*). These words are preceded by mention of penalties and sacrifice to the Olympian god. The implications of this highly problematical record, which certainly goes back to about the middle of the sixth century B.C., would¹ seem to be that something like a mass-meeting of those present at a given festival formed a tribunal of last resort in connexion with the early equivalent of the Olympic Council, the whole being, as a matter of course, presided over by one of the two Hellanodicae, either the Elean or the Pisatan. With equal uncertainty, but not without some colour of probability, it is possible to base a conjecture as to the composition of the Olympic Council in these as in subsequent times upon the definite connexion between the board of Hellanodicae after Ol. 75 and the territorial expansion and contraction of Elis. If the Hellanodicae were at all times, as certainly they were, appointed to represent the home districts congregating for the games at the Olympian sanctuary, it follows that the Olympian Council, to which there was an appeal from them, must have been similarly representative.

This tentative theory of the constitution of the Olympic Council

¹ There is, of course, no certainty, except such as may derive from its early date, that the *βωλά* and *ζάμος* of this inscription may not be those either of the Eleans or of the Pisatans, or of some other district.

during the sixth century strains not a little beyond documentary proofs. But as to the existence of some Olympic Council, somehow constituted during that century, solid evidence is not lacking,—the north wing, namely, of the Bouleuterion actually visible in its foundations, and to some extent susceptible, through recovered fragments, of reconstruction. It was built *ca.* 550 B.C., when increased resort made it indispensable. Here was housed the Council and the reinforced administration of the two Hellanodicae of early days. The date of the rectangular hall intervening between the north and the south wing is uncertain, but the south apsidal wing certainly dates from shortly after the 75th Olympiad, —that great turning point in Olympian administration. Then it was, Pausanias says, that the Eleans put in nine Hellanodicae, three in charge of horse-racing, three to supervise the pentathlon, three in charge of the remaining events, boxing, wrestling, the pancratium. This dispensation of efficiency was carried through by the Eleans in the later years of the 75th Olympiad, a moment of panhellenic awakening when they were aroused to a sense of shortcomings in the existing Eleo-Pisatan management of the great Pisatan festival. Whatever subjugation there may before this time have been of the Pisatans by the Aetolo-Eleans took place at a time while both communities were living in scattered holdings. Then the situation was very different from the complexion of affairs after Ol. 75. Till that date the political frame of all the "home counties" was more or less the same. The constitution of Elis into a well-knit city-state, however, altered everything. As long as Pisatans and Arcadians and Aetolo-Eleans all had the same simple manners and customs and political rudiments, it could not much signify which one of these groups took the lead at Olympia. The 75th was the last Olympiad celebrated under the old order. Three of its events were won by islanders (from Andros, Thasos, Chios); four fell to the home talent of Arcadia; two, including the horse-race, to Medizing Argos. Thebes, whose patriotic record was momentarily under a cloud, carried off the chariot-race, while three prizes were scored by Astylus, almost a professional, since before this time he had already won four Olympian victories. On this occasion Astylus was evidently not kept quite under control, an ominous sign for the future of the festival, which could not maintain its prestige if the professional winner was not strictly kept in his place. Although, on occasion of previous victories, the

Hellanodicae had proclaimed Astylus as the Crotoniat that he in fact was, he now insisted on being proclaimed victor as from Syracuse, and this was feebly granted him. How impolitic on the part of the management was this weakness is shewn by the resulting indignation of the Crotoniats, who mobbed the statue of Astylus, where it stood¹ παρὰ τῷ Ἡρῷ τῷ Λακωνίᾳ and also confiscated his house for base usage as a gaol.² A strong hand at the helm was needed henceforward, for abuses were soon to arise requiring the drastic extortion of fines which first began in Ol. 97.³

But, it may be asked, how could nine Hellanodicae, selected like the Council to which they appertained as representatives of backward Pisatan districts, as well as of the newly-constituted city-state of Elis, be depended on for efficiency? No doubt, giving each important group of events three surveyors, instead of having only two for the entire list, might secure efficiency and responsibility. But the chances of this dwindle, when one reflects what various standards, what conflicting conceptions of "business," "good form," fairness, and efficiency must have been entertained by any such group of western Peloponnesians. This fact would certainly have made a board of more than two Hellanodicae a very hazardous experiment at any time before the synoecism of Elis. But the existence of that city-state with its Hellanodicaeum and its porch for the transaction of the daily affairs of the newly constituted board of nine completely altered the case, and solved the difficulty. Indeed it is not easy to make out why no scholar should have noted the fact that one of the decisive motives determining the Aetolo-Eleans, sorely against all their ingrained habits and inborn tastes, to pass the self-denying ordinances of their city-state, was the quickened sense of a high national duty to administer the Olympia in an improved, efficient, and business-like manner. Polybius, no doubt on sound authority, says more than enough to shew that, as a community, the

¹ The case of Astylus was very different from that of Cimon (Hdt. 6, 103) who won a chariot victory and had Pisistratus proclaimed as victor. Whatever his motives were, Cimon was guilty of no defection from the gods of his Athenian allegiance by this transfer. Astylus, by turning Syracusan, committed in some sort the crime of lèse majesté against Hera Lacinia.

² Paus. 6, 13, 1.

³ See above, p. 2, n. 1.

Eleans never took kindly to their new city-centre.¹ They were, nevertheless, bound to have it, if only because there, and there only, could the callow countryside Hellanodicas, new to his office, be trained to know his business. How indispensable this training was, and what universal recognition it extorted from the most unwilling,—and that too in a moment when there was every temptation to set it at naught,—may be gathered from the award of the victorious Lacedaemonians in 399 B.C. against the vanquished Eleans. They were deprived of Phixia, Epitalium, Letrini, and of the districts of the Amphidolii and Marganes; they were forced to cede debatable districts to Arcadia, and to dismantle Phea and Cyllene; but, says Xenophon (*Hell.* 3, 2, 31), ‘they (the Spartans) did not deprive them of the presidency of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (*καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείου ὄντος*) although it did not belong to Elis from of old.’ They left the presidency to the Eleans,—and here is the point of the citation for the present argument,—‘because they recognized that the rival claimants were country bumpkins and incompetent for presiding’ (*νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιταυούμενούς χωρίτρας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανούς προεστάναι*). Indeed, this passage of Xenophon not only enables us to gauge the success of the system inaugurated in Ol. 75, but it also, by its *obiter dictum* denying that Elis possessed the presidency from of old, confirms the impression conveyed by Pausanias (5, 4, 5) that the *ἀρχαία γράμματα* of the Eleans did not impose upon the generality of Greeks, or obtain credence for the Elean claim to the sole presidency from any date more remote than Ol. 75.

Pausanias, however, is absolutely authoritative in his account of the system inaugurated in Ol. 75, at the newly built *πόλις* on the river Peneus (6, 24, 1-4). Mr. Frazer's perspicuous translation runs: ‘Another way out of the gymnasium leads to the market-place and to

¹ 4, 73: ἔποι γάρ αὐτῶν οὐτως στέργουσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν βίον ὥστε τινὰς ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς γενέας, ἔχοντας ἱκανά οὐσιας, μὴ παραβεβηκέναι τὸ παράταν εἰς Ἡλεῖαν. τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται διὰ τὸ μεγάλην ποιεῖσθαι στοιδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοὺς τολιτευομένους τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατοικούντων, ἵνα τὸ τε δίκαιον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου διεξάγηται, καὶ τῶν πρὸς βιωτικὰς χρειας μηδὲν ἀλλείπῃ. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν τῆς χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπινοήσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τελεῖστον διὰ τὸ ὑπάρχοντά ποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἵερὸν βίον, διε λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγχώρημα διὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, ἵεράν καὶ ἀπόρθητον φύκουν τὴν Ἡλεῖαν, ἀπειροι παρ-τὸς ὅντες δεινοῦ, καὶ πάσης πολεμικῆς περιστάσεως.

the Umpires' Hall (*Hellanodikeon*) as it is called. The road is above the grave of Achilles, and it is the custom for the umpires to go to the gymnasium by this way. They enter before sunrise to start the runners, and at midday for the pentathlum and the contests called heavy. The market-place of Elis is not constructed after the fashion which prevails in Ionia and in the Greek cities which border on Ionia. It is built in the older style, with separate colonnades and streets between them. The present name of the market-place is the Hippodrome, and the natives train their horses here. The southern colonnade is in the Doric style and is divided into three parts by the columns. In it the umpires usually spend the day. They cause altars to Zeus to be made at the columns, and in the open market-place there are also altars to Zeus, but not many, for, being only improvised, they are easily taken down. As you enter the market-place at this colonnade, the Umpires' Hall is on your left, parallel to the end of the colonnade. It is separated from the market-place by a street. In the Umpires' Hall the umpires-elect reside for ten successive months, and are taught their duties by the Guardians of the Laws (*νομοφύλακες*). Near the colonnade where the umpires spend the day is another colonnade separated from the former by a street.' After this, Polybius cannot surprise us by saying that the Eleans from the country were not fond of spending their holidays in the austere market-place of their metropolis. A glance at the plan of it, published by Dr. Wernicke,¹ certainly justifies Pausanias in remarking on its difference from the cheerful centres of lively Ionian towns.² Any small

¹ *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* IX, p. 128.

² 6, 24, 2: 'Η δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἡλεῖοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ιώνων καὶ διαι τῷρες Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἐλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ περιόηται τῷρες ἀρχαιοτέρων. Mr. E. Norman Gardiner writes me, suggesting that the foundation of the Nemean games was symptomatic of what may pass for the 'puritanism' or purism of Peloponnesian Doriens, not a little scandalized by the 'carnival' character of the miscellaneous Isthmian festival. With these Ionian,—Englishmen of two generations ago might have said 'frenchified,'—fairs, I should incline to class the unstrenuous jollity of the Delian festivals, while the same Ionian note showed at the Panathenaic festival shortly after the Nemean games were founded. Shocked by all this, the solid sense of the Peloponnesians took a practical form, their conservative dissent was in fact embodied alike in the programme of the old-established Olympia and of the new Nemea. At both festivals prevailed the same simplicity and the same strict and exclusive devotion to athletics by way of contrast with the "cosmopolitan carnival" of the Isthmus. Without some such

space in it left over from the temples and the horse-exercise would be occupied, no doubt, by improvised altars to Zeus, so that it was no spot for a lounging seeking amusement. This Elean market-place existed literally for the purpose of securing efficient administration of the Olympian games and sanctuary. Two of its sides were monopolized by (1) the Hellanodicaeum, (2) the business-colonnade of the Hellanodicae, and the Meeting House of the Elean Synedri (Senate), and a third by a hall used by the sixteen women who yearly wove a garment for presentation at the Olympian Heraeum, while one corner of the open space was preëmpted by the Grave of Oxylus, and there were at least two temples also within its area. With such a market-place, and with a principal street named $\eta\ \delta\delta\delta\sigma\omega\pi\eta\varsigma$, it must be admitted that Elis was not a cheerful resort. Little wonder then if Elean country-dwellers were so fond of life in the fields that even the well-to-do among them would live their countryside family life sometimes for three successive generations without ever so much as once setting foot in the Street of Silence, resorting to the Grave of Oxylus, or picking their way among a labyrinth of altars to a point of vantage where they might haply under favour of Zeus take but little harm from the rampant horses and their trainers.

Dr. Wernicke, whose memorable and convincing account of the market-place of Elis and of the Olympian Council House¹ is otherwise the last word to be said on the subject, does not believe that the board of nine Hellanodicae was first established in the 75th Olympiad. He does argue, however,—as who would not?—that the two buildings on the Elean market-place, the Hellanodicaeum at one corner, and the colonnade just west of it where the Hellanodicae spent their busy days, had their prototypes at Olympia. With the latter, he associates what Pausanias calls $\eta\ \pi\ro\epsilon\delta\pi\alpha$, curiously and unfortunately englashed by Mr. Frazer's "Grand Stand." The $\pi\ro\epsilon\delta\pi\alpha$ can only mean, I conceive

underlying antagonism, Mr. Gardiner urges that the establishment of a second Panhellenic festival within a few miles of the Isthmus, and a few years after the Isthmia took on their Panhellenic character, would be inexplicable. The same mood which dictated the foundation of the Nemea still prevailed a century later among the Peloponnesians. Hence the strenuous silence and self-repression of the newly constituted Elean $\pi\delta\lambda\varsigma$.

¹ *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* IX, pp. 127-135 and 101-114.

with Dr. Wernicke, the business quarters or official bureau of the *προεδροι*. With him I reject the idea of Dr. Flasch and others (Bau-meister, pp. 1071 and 1104) that *προεδρία* can be anything like the living quarters of the Hellanodicae (the Hellanodicaeum). Mr. Frazer himself mistrusts Flasch's opinion, yet, nevertheless, proceeds (Vol. 3, p. 574) to describe the Hellanodicaeum (the Southeast Building) in a note on Pausanias' mention of the *προεδρία*. How or why he should regard "Grand Stand" as englishing *προεδρία* Mr. Frazer does not explain.¹ The title of *πρόεδροι* belonged primarily to the Olympian

¹ Pausanias' matter of fact tone in 5, 15, 4,—where he alludes to *ἡ καλουμένη προεδρία* only by way of locating the altar of Pythian Apollo,—implies that *προεδρία* was, in his time at least, the name for a conspicuous building at Olympia, current among the local guides (Paus. 5, 21, 9) and presumably used in hand-books like Polemo's. It came to be applied to this building as occupied by *πρόεδροι* in the discharge of their characteristic activity as *πρόεδροι*. It is hardly reasonable to single out their exercise of the privilege of occupying front seats at the games as picturesquely and popularly characteristic. Hence to english *προεδρία* by "Grand Stand" is to mistranslate it. The Hellanodicae unquestionably occupied front seats, but a more popularly remarkable thing about them than their privileged position would always be the robes of royal purple which clothed them where they sat in state. Holding an office which was but that of two co-equal Homeric *βασιλῆς* put into commission as it were, their striking note on state occasions was royal. If, therefore, their place of business had to derive its name from the pomp and circumstance of their appearance on state occasions, the building under discussion might, like its Athenian analogue, have been called *βασιλικός* or *βασιλεῖος* rather than *προεδρία*. This last was, however, its name, and plainly derives from the more practical and every day functions performed by the Hellanodicae as *πρόεδροι*, functions which brought them into daily contact with all intending to enter the Olympian lists. Something like the sense attaching to the term *πρόεδρος* at Olympia in Pausanias' time may be gathered from an Attic sacral inscription (Dittenberger, 737) of about 178 A.D., just the time when Pausanias was at work on his book. There the *πρόεδρος* as contradistinguished from the *δρυιβακχος* in charge of sacrifices, and the *ἐπιστάτης*, a sort of chancellor, is the presiding officer or speaker called upon to put the question in the full assembly of the college of the Iobacchae called *τὸ βακχεῖον* (ll. 19-24). The Olympian Hellanodicae were the *πρόεδροι* of the Olympic Council, as the Athenian *βασιλεὺς* was the *πρόεδρος* of the Council of the Areopagus, and the two Spartan kings presided over the Spartan *γέροντες*. The current name *προεδρία* would then be the natural appellation for the business quarters of these *πρόεδροι*, who, when their Council was not in session, discharged multifarious duties and bore heavy responsibilities as its executive committee, so to speak. Two inscriptions of the first century A.D. combine with Pausanias' account of the appeal from the Hellanodicae to their Council (see p. 39 above)

“Ελλανοδίκας, not as the officer who occupied a front seat at the public assemblies of the games, but as the presiding officer of the Olympic Council. Professor Robert¹ has shewn that the position of the building which Pausanias alludes to as the *προεδρία* must, like the Olympian market-place, have been on the south of the Altis. This corresponds to the relative situation at Elis of its analogue, the business colonnade of the Hellanodicae. Now on the Olympian *διορά*, the Council House was the only building which could have answered for the Hellanodicae. Either of the apsidal wings,—each being subdivided into two spaces by a line of interior columns, and each shewing in its apse on the west such compartments as would be suitable for (1) archives, and (2) treasure,—would have been well adapted for the business quarters in hand.²

to substantiate the testimony of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, so that a very heavy burden of proof rests on him who translates *προεδρία* as the “Grand Stand.” Before the *προεδρία* was built the Hellanodicae occupied the north wing, or old Council House, in common with the Olympic Council. That they had some such quarters stands to reason and is made certain (1) by the fact that the *προεδρία* itself is an absolute architectural replica of the older north wing, and (2) by the fact that the Eleans built on their own market-place not only a residence for the Hellanodicae (the Hellanodicaeum), but also business quarters in which to learn and rehearse duties such as were performed by them when at Olympia in the *προεδρία*. Probably the Hellanodicae went to Olympia for the month just before the games began. This at least was the practice at Delphi, where the theors spent that month in superintending the practice of intending competitors. The business of the Hellanodicae on arriving at Olympia we know in part. On arriving they sacrificed a boar at the altar of Zeus Horkios (Paus. 7, 24, 9) and summoned intending contestants and their kindred to stand out before the slaughtered victim and take a solemn oath of obedience. They then themselves took the oath of incorruptible judgment. In Pausanias’ account, this took place in the square chamber of the Council House, north of the *προεδρία*.

In the *προεδρία* itself, where they henceforth were to be found during “office hours” until the time of the festival, the Hellanodicae (1) looked after the condition of the gymnasium and other buildings (cf. Paus. 5, 21, 2), (2) arranged for proposed public recitations, and (3) watched even more strictly than during the previous ten months (spent at their quarters in Elis) the youths (and the horses) who were to compete. This last was necessary to enable them to make out their final lists. There would be doubtful questions as to classing this or that athlete *ἐν παισι* or *ἐν ἀνδράσι* (Paus. 6, 14, 2). Such were the varied and exacting practical duties of their *προεδρία*, a very different thing from enjoying the privilege of front seats on the “Grand Stand.”

¹ *Hermes* XXIII, pp. 435 f.

² It is just possible, since the Hellanodicae were organized into three standing committees of three members each, that one of the three subdivisions was in some

Dr. Wernicke shews a subtle insight when, on the strength of a comparison of passages in Pausanias,¹ he makes it practically certain that the Olympic Council occupied the north apsidal wing, built about the middle of the sixth century B.C., while the Hellanodicae had their daily business sessions in the south apsidal wing, built early in the fifth century, i. e. after the 75th Olympiad.²

Dr. Wernicke enters into interesting details about the two wings of the Council House. In each the apse was partitioned off, leaving eastward a long rectangular assembly-chamber with a row of columns down the middle. But the westward apses were not only partitioned off from the assembly-hall. Each was also bisected by a partition. Two chambers resulted in each case, the outside wall of each being quadrant-shaped. The two apsidal chambers of the south wing communicated by means of a door. A practical use for all these appears, since not only a repository for archives, but another for the *ἱερὰ χρήματα* was required by the Hellanodicae.³

fashion assigned to each of the three committees. One of these may have found some use for the apsidal or western compartment, but we need not imagine sessions of any committee to have taken place there.

¹ 5, 23, 1: *παρεξιβντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον έσοδον Ζεύς τε ἐστηκεν ἐπιγραμμα μὲν έχων οὐδέν.* Here Pausanias must mean the small postern door leading through the north wall of the north wing of the Council House into the porch stretching along the whole east front. The north wing was plainly used for the sessions of the Council, or else Pausanias would not here have used without some explanation the word *βουλευτήριον*. Then compare 5, 24, 1: *ἀνδὲ τὸν βουλευτήριον πρὸς τὸν παὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν, ἐστιν δγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερῷ Διός.* This implies that the Council Chamber was on the north side.

² As for the living quarters of the Hellanodicae, these Dr. Wernicke locates on the site of what is known as the Southeast Building, which stood in the same topographical relation to the south wing of the Council House in which the Elean Hellanodicaeum stood to the neighbouring colonnade of daily business sessions. The Olympian Hellanodicaeum was pulled down or remodelled so as to serve Nero as an imperial lodge while simultaneous alterations and extensions of the old priests' quarters, the Theeoleon, presumably gave accommodation to the ousted Hellanodicae at the time when Pausanias visited Olympia.

³ These consisted doubtless (*a*) of sums allotted by the state (Elis) and (*b*) of sums paid by athletes fined for breaking the rules. These last were very heavy, but their infliction is only recorded as having been made in the fourth century B.C. and later. Moreover, the provision for their custody would for the more part be a

Before the 75th Olympiad, and the increase of the Hellanodicae from two to nine, the two Hellanodicae in charge must have contented themselves with sharing their quarters with the Olympic Council, whose executive arm in fact they were. This arrangement became obviously impracticable as soon as the Hellanodicae were increased and grouped into three sub-committees, each with its own special field of competence.

Of the three chapters just ended, the first, mainly occasioned by Mr. Frazer's scepticism, is a defence of the current identification *in situ* of the foundations of the Olympian Council House.

With dates derived from the expert restoration of the two main parts of this fabric, the argument of the second chapter is intended to clear up certain leading facts in the history of the western Peloponnesus, and to reveal the hitherto unsuspected existence at Olympia of a pre-Dorian Amphictyonic league.

Finally, the third chapter examines, with light from the two chapters preceding, and from two studies of the Olympian treasuries published elsewhere,¹ the history of the Olympic Council in its relation to the Hellanodicae, to the paramount power of the city-state of Elis, and to the remains of its house of assembly.

Addendum.—A word of postscript is necessary to account for the absence in this paper of any allusion to my friend Dr. Dörpfeld's important discoveries on the site of the Pylus of Strabo's *ωμερικώτεροι* (see above, p. 19, n. 3), which,—to judge from the provisional account of last winter's excavations just before me (dated last May and published in Vol. XXXII of the *Athenische Mittheilungen*),—he has happily located at Kakovatos, half an hour's ride southward from Sami-

temporary concern, since they were usually appropriated to the setting up of specified statues or the like.

¹ On "Olympian 'Treasuries' and 'Treasuries' in general," *Four. Hell. Stud.* XXV, 1905, pp. 294–319, and on "Details of the Olympian 'Treasuries,'" *Four. Hell. Stud.* XXVI, 1906, pp. 46–83. On the strength of the second of these studies and of points made in the present paper, more precise approximate dates for the earlier treasuries have here been adopted than are ventured upon in those studies. The Geloans' house is dated *ca.* 610 B.C., the Megarians' and Metapontines' *ca.* 590 B.C., the Cyrenaeans' (VII), the Sybarites' (VI), and the Byzantines' (V) *ca.* 550 B.C., the Selinuntines' (IX) *ca.* 530 B.C., and the Epidamnians' (IV) *ca.* 525 B.C.

cum, on the road from Zacharo to Kyparissia. The present paper was in print before any details of Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations were available. Whether these should alter any of its conclusions regarding Pylus (none of them incompatible with Dr. Dörpfeld's new facts) is a question to be decided by the validity of its evidence, fully given in foot-notes. I, at all events, see little or nothing which I should have expressed otherwise, had I known of Dr. Dörpfeld's new and most interesting discoveries.

L. D.

NOVEMBER, 1907.

THE PROPITIATION OF ZEUS

BY JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

IN the Homeric poems, rites of propitiation find little place. But the pre-Homeric as well as the post-Homeric Greek by no means stood on such good terms with his gods, for Greek religion outside of the Homeric poems seems to have been full of propitiation and the allied rites of purification. Did the Greek, however, propitiate *all* his gods, or did he consider that some of them stood in such relation to him that in their cult placatory offering was unnecessary?

There is little question that it was the chthonic deities with their irascible temper and their boundless ability to harm, to whom such sacrifices were chiefly directed.¹ But it is quite another matter to say that *only* the chthonic powers normally received sacrifice of placation. This was the view of K. O. Müller, who set it forth in his edition of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus seventy-five years ago. Acceptance of this view of course renders it necessary to class as chthonic certain deities which Greek poet and theologian considered Olympian, and to do this because they exhibit in greater or less degree functions proper to the chthonic powers. While few would deny that deities like Demeter and Hermes are very largely chthonic, the case is by no means so clear when we turn to certain others. Several recent scholars are inclined to accept Müller's view.² Quite the opposite position, however, is championed by Fairbanks,³ who, so far from admitting that only the chthonic powers were propitiated, contends that the ancient writers nowhere attest propitiation of any chthonic deity except the Furies.

Amid these widely diverse views, it becomes important to discover to what individual deities the Greeks did actually offer sacrifice of propi-

¹ Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusalterthümer*², p. 110; Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 39; Rohde, *Psyche*², I, pp. 272 ff.

² Rohde, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273 and n. 1; p. 272, n. 1; Diels, *op. cit.*, *passim*, esp. p. 71; cf. Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³ *American Journal of Philology*, XXI, 1900, pp. 254 ff.

tiation and to what extent such deities bore a chthonic character and performed functions proper to the earth-gods. If we find that a Zeus or an Apollo, for instance, received such offerings, we must then inquire how far a process of syncretism has contributed to this state of affairs, how far it is the original Zeus of the sky who is appeased, and how far into the primitive Zeus has been merged some god of another stock, making the resultant deity not simple, but complex in character and function.

So vast is this subject that for the present I shall restrict the investigation to Zeus, first, because he is the most important deity, and secondly, because in his character of sky-god and Olympian *par excellence*, he seems most widely removed from the earth-gods. If, then, it can be shown that, in the large majority of cases of the placation of Zeus, there is much that is not at all consistent with the attributes or worship of a sky-god, but rather accords with and occurs principally in the cult of the earth-gods, and that the very name of Zeus is attached to deities indubitably chthonic, it may well be supposed that in the case of deities less patently belonging to the sky, the same phenomena are found in varying degrees, so that to them also may be offered a sacrifice essentially propitiatory in character and chthonic in ritual. In the instances of such sacrifice to Zeus, we must observe closely the character of the evil to be averted and the surname of the Zeus concerned.

But what sacrifices shall be considered propitiatory? *Primarily*, those which we know were offered to avert harm from the fields and crops, either because the fact is so stated, or because the sacrifice was consummated at a time of year when the crops are in grave peril. *Secondly*, sacrifices evidently offered to avert any other ill. *Thirdly*, the large majority of the cases of human sacrifice.¹ *Fourthly*, some sacrifices of a purificatory character. While there is some distinction between purificatory and propitiatory rites, in the last analysis it may be said that purification is only one means of propitiation.² No one not ceremonially pure may hope to appease the anger of a god, while the presence of ceremonial impurity is itself likely to arouse divine wrath.

¹ A few may have originated in other ways; cf. Robertson Smith, *s. v. Sacrifice*, ap. *Encycl. Britt.* XXI, 136^a; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 269 ff.

² Cf. Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

My definition of a chthonic god shall be the simplest possible. I employ the term to include all divine or semi-divine beings supposed to dwell beneath the earth's surface, whether as gods of the dead or of agriculture, as well as the souls of the dead and such heroes as were conceived to dwell under the earth.¹

Far less frequently than we might expect do we find the ancient writers mentioning the propitiation of a Zeus without a surname,—a fact which might indicate at the start that the Homeric² idea of one Zeus supreme over gods and men, a god to whom descriptive epithets are applied but who needs no surname, is not the idea prevalent in Greece in general. There seem rather to have been in the popular conception various types of Zeus, which often had little in common except the name, exercised functions quite different from each other, and were often worshipped as supreme in different localities. The sacrifice of a human being to Zeus (*Iovi*) is mentioned by Lactantius³ as having been performed by Teucer. This occurs in a late writer, refers to mythical times,⁴ and is localized in Cyprus, where we find Zeus bearing the significant surnames of Εἰλαπνιαστής, the 'banqueter,' evidently upon human flesh, and Σπλαγχνοτόμος, the 'carver of entrails.'⁵ This Zeus has a cruel and voracious character, and may perhaps be a Cyprian deity identified with Zeus, and not the Greek Zeus at all. It is impossible further to determine his nature or attributes. Pausanias,⁶ one hundred and fifty years earlier, mentions altars of Zeus and Hera on Mt. Arachnaeus, where sacrifice was offered for rain. The nature of the request marks the character of the deity as clearly as could be done by a surname, and this sacrifice will be mentioned later in connection with the gods of rain (p. 82).

¹ Fairbanks would confine the term to soul-gods, but whether the Greeks failed specifically to apply to any of the above classes the adjective *χθόνιος*, is of little importance, if the being in question was thought to dwell underground. In the third volume of his *Cults of the Greek States*, Farnell distinguishes chthonic from vegetative deities, but admits (p. 220) that often the two are so blended as to be indistinguishable.

² Such Homeric instances as the propitiation of "Zeus and the other gods" (*Od. 4, 472 ff.*) I have not considered in this article.

³ *De falsa religione, I, 21 init.*

⁴ Though it lasted down to the time of Hadrian, *i. e.*

⁵ Hegesander, ap. Athenaeus 4, p. 174a.

⁶ 2, 25, 10.

First among those who receive propitiation we shall discuss

ZEUS μειλίχιος,

whose feast, the Diasia, was celebrated at Athens on the 22d or 23d of Anthesterion.¹ In discussing the meaning of the name, a scholiast gives Apollonius Acharnaeus as his authority for the statement that it was explained διπὸ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν αὐτὸν εὐχαῖς τὰς ἀστα, where the propitiatory character of the rite is apparent. The scholiast on Lucian, *Tim.* 7, says of it: οὐ εἰώθεσαν μετὰ στυγνότητος τιος ἐπιτελεῖν, adding that the name is probably derived from διασταίνειν. The Vatican MS. 1322 further adds: διασταίνειν δὲ τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῆς ἀνίας. These guesses, some of them wild enough, yet indicate the actual character of the festival and lend support to an etymology of its name recently suggested by R. A. Neil,² whereby he furnishes a meaning consonant with the στυγνότης of the feast. He makes it the festival of curses or imprecations: δω is for δωρο by the regular disappearance of medial σ; and if we are thus left without anything to connect the Diasia with Zeus, we shall perhaps find that we can well dispense with such connection.

To propitiate Zeus Milichius and gain the wealth that he had thought to secure in the campaign, Xenophon sacrificed pigs by holocaust τῷ πατρῷ νόμῳ.³ Pausanias⁴ tells of purificatory sacrifices and a statue to atone for tribal blood shed in civil war, both offered apparently to this Zeus. If we now inquire what is the character of this deity and what are his functions, it appears that he has oversight of agriculture, as may be inferred from the date of his festival. Of the whole year, Anthesterion (Feb.–Mar.) was the most perilous season for the crops;⁵ frost, wind, and storm were apt to injure grain, vine, fig, and olive. At such a time it was well to conciliate a deity who possessed such power to harm. On the other hand, if duly propitiated, Zeus Milichius fulfilled functions to some extent Plutonic. Not only does he send up the enriching crops from beneath earth's surface, but he has treasures of

¹ Schol. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 408.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIX, 1899, p. 114, n. 1.

³ *Anab.* 7, 8, 3–5.

⁴ 2, 20, 2.

⁵ Band, *Diasien*, 19 f.

gold and silver hidden in the subterranean deeps. An Attic relief¹ represents him with the cornucopia, the frequent attribute of Pluto.² For this reason Xenophon had to propitiate him in order to secure wealth. An Orphic Hymn,³ among several epithets of Zeus, of which, however, *μελίχος* is only one, calls him :

πλουτοδότην, δότραν γε βρυάζων οίκον ἐσέλθη.

Quite consistent with his agricultural functions is the fact that already in the time of Pausanias his cult showed marks of extreme antiquity. There was an *ἀρχαῖος βωμός* of this Zeus just across the Cephisus from Athens, where Theseus after slaying Sinis *καθαροίων ἔτυχε* at the hands of the Phytalidae.⁴ Pausanias⁵ also speaks of roughly made statues of Zeus *μελίχος* and of Artemis *πατρά*, the one in the form of a pyramid, the other in that of a pillar, a type of statue which must have come down from times extremely remote.⁶

Zeus Milichius is now usually classed with the chthonic gods.⁷ Such a conclusion is hinted at by a passage in Achilles Tatius,⁸ where he is clearly distinguished from, if not actually set over against Zeus Uranius. This by itself is hardly enough, and as I find nowhere set forth the traits of character and cult by virtue of which a chthonic nature is assigned to him, I shall catalogue them as briefly as possible, reserving for some future occasion anything like a full discussion of the various marks of chthonic character.

I. His surname is not descriptive of his true character but euphemistic, as may be seen from the scholiast on Luc. *Tim.* 7,⁹ who says that the Diasia was celebrated *μετὰ στυγνότητός τινος*.¹⁰ On *Tim.* 43 he

¹ *C. I. A.* 2, 1579b (p. 352); cf. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 399.

² Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der Mythologie*, I, 1802.

³ 73, Abel.

⁴ Paus. 1, 37, 4; cf. 2, 20, 2.

⁵ 2, 9, 6.

⁶ Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, I, p. 15.

⁷ K. O. Müller, *Eumenides*, p. 142; Rohde, *Psyche*⁸, I, p. 273, n. 1; Stengel, *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, etc., CXXVII, 1883, p. 370; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*⁴, I, p. 130, n. 4; Farnell, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 65 ff.; De Witte, *Gazette Archéol.* IX, p. 353, and especially Höfer, in Roscher, *Aufz. Lex.* II, 2560 f.

⁸ 5, 2.

⁹ See p. 64.

¹⁰ Cf. schol. on Luc. *Icarom.* 24, and Hesych. *s. v.* Διάσια.

says in explanation of *ἀποφρὰς ἡ ἡμέρα* that on such days the Greeks do not speak to one another nor perform the regular sacrifices. 'This takes place in the month of February, when they also sacrifice to those under the earth, and the whole month is devoted to those who have passed away *μετὰ στυγνότητος πάντων προϊόντων ἔτερον τρόπον*, ὃν καὶ τὰ Δάσμα στυγνάζοντες ἥγον Ἀθηναῖον.' Since the cult of this god suggested to the scholiast the cult of the dead, and since he uses to characterize the two cults the same word *στυγνότης*, it is hard to believe that the character of this Zeus was really so kindly, so mild, so gentle as his surname would indicate. If his feast was celebrated with gloom, the reason probably lay in the gloomy, gruesome character of the divinity it was intended to propitiate. For we have to note that the deities which have surnames quite alien to their true character are usually the *inferi*, in whose power it lay to send calamity, unless flattered with a surname as far as possible removed from one that would be truly descriptive. In other words, euphemism is a kind of propitiation.¹

But what are we to say about the *θεοὶ μελίχοι*, when the expression is used as a general term and no specific deity is named? In their case, too, I think it may be shown that the epithet is used *κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν*. Pausanias² saw at Myonia in Locris altars dedicated to them at which the sacrifices were nocturnal and the flesh consumed before sunrise. Both among Greeks and Romans the nocturnal offering is a marked peculiarity of the earth-god. In an oracle found in Zosimus³ these deities are very explicitly set over against those of heaven; 'propitiations for the Milichian gods and for the blessed celestials.' Though the time had long passed when only the gods below received propitiatory offerings, there was still felt a sharp contrast between the "gracious deities" and the gods of the sky. The Milichian gods received liba-

¹ Euphemism will be found more fully discussed in Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*, pp. 288 f. and 294 ff., and Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, I, pp. 206 f. and n. 2. It is used especially in speaking of the Erinyes, Pluto, Persephone, Hermes, Charon, Hecate, the dead, Dionysus (see Plut. *Anton.* 24, 3, and cf. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 166), and sundry spirits of Hades; see e. g. Schirmer, *s. v. Μελικηνή*, in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 2636.

² 10, 38, 8.

³ 2, 5, p. 64, ed. Mendelssohn; also in Phlegon, *περὶ μακροβίων*, p. 204, l. 13, ed. Westermann.

tions for the souls of the dead.¹ From these facts several scholars² have concluded that the "gracious deities" were gruesome earth powers and were called "gracious" only by euphemism.

II. The Milichian Zeus was honored with sacrifice of swine.³ I lay the less emphasis upon this because it is very easy to overestimate the significance of the animal offered to a deity, as considerations of convenience, cheapness, and the like undoubtedly played a large part in determining what the victim should be. But so seldom is the pig found in sacrifice to the really Olympian deities, and so frequently is it offered to the earth-gods both in Greece and Rome, that it seems unwise to refuse it any significance.⁴ If it does not indicate the chthonic character of the deity who receives it, it does denote that such a deity belongs to the popular house cults which in most instances antedate the official worship of the state, and in many cases in fact

¹ Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 153, 5 ff.

² Frazer on Paus. 10, 38, 8; Mendelssohn on Zosimus 2, 5; Lehrs, *Pop. Auf.*, pp. 288 f.

³ Xen. *Anab.* 7, 8, 5; Furtwängler, *Meisterw.*, p. 399.

⁴ It is very common in purificatory, mystic, oath, and magical rites, all of which, but especially the last three, are closely connected with chthonic cult. To summarize briefly my doubtless incomplete collection of instances, the swine is offered to Demeter and Cora, *C. I. A.* III, 77, 6 f.; Paus. 9, 8, 1; to [Demeter] Chloe, *Am. Journ. Arch.* X, 1895, p. 211, l. 49; to Cora, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 625; to Demeter's chthonic companion, Eubuleus, schol. Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 2, 1; to Aesculapius, Duhn, *Archaeolog. Zeit.*, 1877, p. 178, n. 17 b; p. 147, n. 15, etc.; cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Monum.*, pp. 305-319; to the Moerae, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, l. c., p. 210, l. 28; to the Nemeses, *C. I. G.* II, 2663; to Apollo Carneus, Dittenberger, *Syll.* 653, 69; cf. p. 100; to Poseidon, *I. G. I.* I, 905; cf. p. 100; to Dionysus Scyllices, Ditt. *Syll.* 616, l. 46; to Corotrophus, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, l. c., p. 210, l. 14; p. 211, l. 31; see p. 107, n. 1; to Artemis Coryphallia, Ath. 4, p. 139 a, who is a κουρόφροφος, Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 123 f.; see p. 107, n. 1; to Aphrodite Castnitis, Strabo 9, p. 438, perhaps the only Aphrodite that receives such an offering, but cf. Eust. p. 852; to Artemis Laphria, Paus. 7, 18, 12, but cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 1277; to Hestia, Eupolis, frag. 281, I, p. 335, Kock; to Athene Hellotis, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, l. c., p. 211, l. 55; cf. p. 212; to Athena σότρησα conjointly with Zeus σότρης at Cos, v. Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, p. 327, ll. 54 ff. (No. 131). In the Spartan Messoa, swine were offered to Demeter, Despoina, Pluto, Persephone, and Tyche, *C. I. G.* 1464, and the pig is attested as a sacrifice at the Thesmophoria by the scholiast on Aristoph. *Ran.* 338; cf. Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, III, pp. 5 and 168.

hark back to a previous stratum of religious belief, the most striking feature of which seems to have been worship of the earth powers.

III. A mutilated inscription¹ [Δι Με]λιχίω ε[. . . νηφά]λια has been taken to indicate that *νηφάλια* or wineless libations were a feature of this worship. These date from a time previous to the introduction of the vine into Greece;² with the persistence characteristic of ritual everywhere, these libations remained usual in the case of many deities whose cult dated from those early days.³ As noted above, the worship of early Greece seems to have been offered primarily to earth-gods (see p. 100), and throughout the historical period this substratum of chthonic cult keeps cropping out through the superimposed Olympian ritual. This is especially evident in the Peloponnesus (p. 100), where there were districts largely uninfluenced by the Dorian conquest, and other localities in which the hostility towards the victors, who had failed fully to absorb the primitive population, maintained the old cults with a stubborn persistence. In Attica the old cults had been left to develop with little disturbance.⁴ In a cult of such antiquity as this of Zeus Milichius we might have expected to find the primeval wineless libation.⁵ A component part of this libation was usually honey, which is frequently found in chthonic cult (see p. 86).

IV. A fourth and a most significant fact in the cult of Zeus Milichius is the sacrifice of the ram,—significant not only because the victim is a

¹ *C. I. A.* I, 4, ll. 4, 5.

² Porphyrius, *de abst.* 2, 20.

³ In the case of the dead only was this otherwise (Stengel, *Festschrift für Friedländer*, p. 418); they were not so remote from man that he could not venture to give them what it was his own and had so lately been their daily practice to consume.

⁴ Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, p. 54, has recently observed that in Attica Ge is more important than Zeus.

⁵ Other deities receiving a similar libation are catalogued by Polemo, ap. schol. Soph. *O. C.* 100, as follows: Mnemosyne, the Muses, Eos, Selene, the Nymphs, Aphrodite Urania, the daughters of Erechtheus, and Helius, a list consisting chiefly of ancient female deities, worshipped at a very early date in Greece. *Nephelia* are mentioned elsewhere: to the Furies, Soph. *O. C.* 100, 481; Aesch. *Eum.* 107; Ap. Rh. 4, 710 ff.; to Demeter, Dion Hal. 1, 33, 1; to Demeter and Persephone, Paus. 5, 15, 10; to the Nymphs, *ibid.*; to Dionysus, Plut. *de Tuend. Sanit. Praec.* 132 E; to the hero Eudromus, v. Prött-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, p. 216 (No. 73); cf. Farnell, *Cults*, III, p. 102, esp. note c.

ram, but because the skin of the ram was used in certain lustral or propitiatory ceremonies under the name of *Διὸς κάδιον*,¹ which apparently means the 'fleece of Zeus.' Used as it is, however, in the cult of Zeus only when Zeus Milichius or Zeus *κτήσιος* is the object of worship, and appearing in other apotropaic and propitiatory ritual, it had perhaps originally no more to do with Zeus than had the Diasia, if Neil's etymology be accepted (p. 64). Hesychius² mentions its propitiatory force. Eustathius³ calls it *δῖον κάδιον*, 'the divine fleece,' a term which does not bring it into such close connection with Zeus. Perhaps, like *Δάσια* and *ἀποδιοπομπέσθαι*,⁴ it should be coupled with the idea of curse-averting. The ram had apotropaic⁵ and purificatory⁶ force. It was offered to avert impending danger, especially by those who were about to enter the subterranean shrines of Amphiaraus or Trophonius,⁷ and, in the former case at least, was used in much the same way as the *Διὸς κάδιον*. The worshipper slept on the wet fleece before undertaking his perilous enterprise.⁸ To avert danger the Taulantines⁹ offered rams together with a human sacrifice,¹⁰ a rite evidently placatory or apotropaic and, as the rams were black, most likely offered to earth deities.¹¹

¹ For the literature see Gruppe, *Griechische Myth.*, p. 892, n. 1.

² *s. v.* *Διὸς κάδιον*; cf. *v.* Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, p. 184.

³ p. 1935, 8.

⁴ Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 26 f.

⁵ Deubner, *de Incubatione*, p. 41.

⁶ At the Andanian mysteries; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 653, 67.

⁷ Paus. I, 34, 5; 9, 39, 6.

⁸ Cf. Strabo, 6, p. 284.

⁹ Arrian, *Anab.* I, 5, 7.

¹⁰ K. O. Müller recognizes in the ram the regular surrogate for human sacrifice in propitiatory offering; *Eumenides*, p. 144.

¹¹ Stengel, *Kult.-Alt.*,² p. 134. The ram was used in magic rites, which are allied to the cult of the earth-gods (Rieß, ap. Pauly-Wissowa, I, 77, l. 11 ff.). The ram offering appears in the cult of the following deities, chiefly powers of the earth: **Demeter** *Chlœ*, schol. Soph. *O. C.* 1600; [Demeter] *Achaea*, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* X, 1895, p. 210, l. 27; **Persephone**, *ibid.*, p. 211, l. 44; **Pandora** (a white ram in a comic oracle), Aristoph. *Av.* 971; cf. Hesych. *s. v.* *Πανδώρα*; cf. the sacrifice to **Hades**, Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.*, 364 A; **Hermes** ('Ερμῆν), Ditt. *Syll.* 653, 69; **Apollo Carneus**, Theocritus, 5, 82 f. (cf. p. 100, n. 7); **Apollo of Tel-**

V. A very cogent reason for considering Zeus Milichius an earth-god is that he appears upon reliefs in serpent form.¹ That the snake there represented is rather the god himself than something sacred to the god, is clear from the two facts that the serpent is much larger than the human beings who are engaged in the act of worship, and that on some of the stones there is no representation of a deity other than the big snake, to whom the offerings are presented directly.

It is generally recognized that the serpent is the peculiar animal of the chthonic deities, whom it therefore both represents and accompanies. It is earthborn² and, like the chthonic gods themselves, it lives beneath the earth in caves.³ Creeping upon the earth and having its home in the ground, it seemed especially fit to serve as an attendant to the earth-gods. It was connected in some way or other with the idea of death,⁴ perhaps as an embodiment of the soul of the departed.⁵ Like the ram it possessed apotropaic force.⁶ Of the powers of the earth,⁷

messus, Ditt. *Syll.* 641, 3 ff. (cf. p. 105); the Moerae, *ibid.*; the Mother of the Gods, Ditt. *Syll.*, *l. c.*; Trophonius, Paus. 9, 39, 6; Amphiaraus, Paus. 1, 34, 5; Aesculapius, Panofka, *Abhandl. Berl. Acad. Wissenschaft.*, 1845, pl. IV, 2; also Girard, *L'Asclépiéion d'Athènes*, pl. IV; Poseidon, Ditt. *Syll.* 615, 9 (cf. p. 100, n. 7); Spercheus, *Iliad*, 23, 148; Artemis Colaenis, schol. Arist. *Av.* 873; Zeus, Lucian, *Dial. deor.* 4, 2; cf. Ar. *Av.* 568, also other forms of Zeus discussed in the following pages, e. g., p. 79. Also to the following heroes: Hesychus, schol. Soph. *O. C.* 489; Calchas, Strabo, 6, p. 284; Tiresias, *Od.* 11, 32; Pelops, Paus. 5, 13, 2 (into a pit); Erechtheus, *Iliad*, 2, 550; Connidas, Plut. *Thes.* 4; and generally in the cult of the dead, *Od.* 10, 526 ff.; cf. Philostr. *Vit. Ap. Ty.* 4, 16. From Ditt. *Syll.* 641, 36 we learn that such a sacrifice was offered to the Agathodaemon (cf. Rohde, *Psyche*², I, p. 132, n. 2) of Posidonus and Gorgis. The ram was also used in the chthonic oath sacrifice, e. g. Xen. *Anab.* 2, 2, 9.

¹ Foucart, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, VII, 1883, p. 507 ff.

² Hdt. 1, 78; Statius, *Theb.* 5, 506; cf. Silius Ital. 6, 253.

³ Porph. *de abst.* 1, 25; Euripides, *Bacch.* 538; Sil. Ital. 6, 218.

⁴ Riess, ap. Pauly-Wiss. I, 77, 52 f.

⁵ Snakes were thought to spring from the corpses of evil men; Pliny, *N. H.* 10, 188; Aelian, *N. A.* 1, 51.

⁶ It was used for this reason to decorate cradles: Eur. *Ion*, 24; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 582.

⁷ The chthonic significance of the snake appears also in Egyptian and Phoenician mythology, Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 409; in Zululand, Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 212. See especially the important note of Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 807, n. 2.

many appear in snake form,¹ others are attended by snakes,² while of still others both facts are attested.

¹ So the chthonic captor of Persephone, **Zeus Chthonius**, Nonnus, *Dionys.* 6, 156 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 114; cf. Orph. *Arg.* 931 and Head, *Hist. numorum*, p. 148 and p. 404; **Eumenides**, Eur. *I. T.* 285-7, *Or.* 256; **Aesculapius**, Paus. 2, 10, 3; Livy, *Per.* 11; **Sabazius**, Theophrastus, *Char.* 16; **Trophonius**, schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 508 *sub fin.*; **Cerberus**, schol. Hes. *Th.* 311; cf. Paus. 3, 25, 5; **Eros** (originally closely related to Hermes and connected with Demeter and Cora, cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 870), Apul. *Met.* 5, (102), 21 f.; **Demeter** (?), see Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 870 f.; **Hecate**, *London magical papyrus*, 121; cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 1289, n. 2; **Dionysus** (?) in Boeotia, Paus. 10, 33, 9-11; cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 92; and the use of the snake by maenads, Luc. *Bacch.* 4; **Heroes**, Photius, *s. v.* ἥπως τοκύδος. So **Cycreus**, Paus. 1, 36, 1; cf. Plut. *Cleom.* 39 *fin.*; *Mitth. Ath. Inst.* II, 1877, Tab. 20 and 22; cf. Luckenbach, in *Jahrb. f. Phil. Supplb.* XI, p. 500; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 249, and Lippert, *Die Religionen der europäischen Kulturvölker*, pp. 42 ff. Perhaps, as Pausanias (1, 24, 7) suggests, the snake under Athene's shield represents **Erichthonius**, and Athene has absorbed the worship of an old snake-formed deity of the ancient Attic population; cf. for Trojan Athene, Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 693, n. 1. Certain cases where Zeus appears as a snake will be discussed later.

Sometimes the chthonic character is indicated only by the serpentine form of the lower extremities. So the **Giants**, principally in the later representations, Roscher, *Aufz. Lex.* I, 1667, 1671, 1665, 1666, 1907 (cf. Paus. 8, 29, 3); the chthonic **Winds**, e. g. **Boreas**, Paus. 5, 19, 1; **Hecate**, Luc. *Philops.* 22; and the hero **Cecrops**, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 438; Apollod. 3, 14, 1, 1.

² The meaning of this phenomenon is often, doubtless, that the deity itself was originally conceived to be ophiomorphic, as when we find snakes represented with **Aesculapius**, **Trophonius**, or the **Eumenides**. To omit the deities already mentioned as snake-formed, the following appear with serpent attendant or ornament: **Pluto**, Roscher, *Aufz. Lex.* I, 1807; II, 1375; **Persephone**, *ibid.* II, 1358, 1359; **Hermes** (snake on caduceus), Roscher, *Aufz. Lex.* I, 2403; **Artemis** (Hecate?), Paus. 8, 37, 4; **Amphiaraus**, Harrison, *Myth. and Monuments*, p. 64; **Gorgons**, Roscher, *op. cit.* I, 1711, 1716; cf. Roscher, *die Gorgonen*, pp. 76-78; so on aegis of **Athene**; **Demeter**, Ersilia Lovatelli, *Bulletino della Commissione Arch. Comunale*, VII, 1879, pp. 5 ff., Pl. 1, 2-3; cf. *Ann. d. Inst.* XXXIII, 1861, pp. 380 ff., *tav. S*; **Thetis**, Paus. 5, 18, 5; cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, 1801 = Demeter Thesmo-thetis (?); Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116; cf. p. 616, n. 3; **Ge** (the serpent that originally guarded the chthonic oracle at Delphi was protected by Ge), Pindar (ap. Schol. Aesch. *Eum.* 2), II, 2, 571, Boeckh; the **Snake goddess of Knossos**, Am. *Journ. Arch.* VII, 1903, pp. 242, 375, illustrated in Baumgarten-Poland-Wagner, *Die hellenische Kultur*, p. 38; **Hercyna**, Paus. 9, 39, 2; cf. Creuzer, *Symbolik*³, III, p. 502, n. 1. Artemidorus (2, 13) mentions as having snake attributes: **Zeus**, **Sabazius**, **Helius**,

VI. We should not ignore the connections of Zeus Milichius with other divinities. He is worshipped especially in conjunction with chthonic deities,—a fact which has no little significance in view of the circumstance that the cult of the Olympians differs widely from that of the earth-gods, not only in its externals and its ritual, but in its inner meaning and purpose. As we shall see later (p. 107), the Olympian is worshipped that he may send blessing, the earth deity that he may take himself off, or that he may avert the ill which it is his proper function to visit upon man.

Now the cult of Zeus Milichius was evidently connected with that of Demeter¹ and that of Hecate (Enodia).² That it was in some way connected with that of the Eleusinian deities is the opinion of Mommsen,³ because as the mystae crossed the Cephisus, on their way to Eleusis, they came to an altar of this Zeus, where, he thinks, those who were guilty of crime were purified by the Phytalidae who had served Theseus of old in the same capacity.

It seems probable then that there was an ancient deity of Attica, perhaps one of the *θεοὶ μελίχοι*, to whom a cult was offered while as yet Zeus of the sky was unknown. This deity must have been of a gruesome character and his festival, the chief feast of ancient Attica, was a period of gloom. He became syncretized with Zeus, as Attica came into contact with Zeus-worshipping tribes, and Milichius became Zeus Milichius. The cult, however, continued to befit the old rather than the new conception, and Zeus of the sky was worshipped with the apotropaic rites appropriate to the earth deity which he had absorbed.⁴

Demeter and Cora, Hecate, Aesculapius, and the heroes; for Helius, cf. Porph. *de abst.* 4, 16.

¹ *C. I. A.* I, 4; probably too with that of Ge, *C. I. A.* IV, 1, p. 190, 528¹. The inscription may, however, refer not to Ge, but to Ae = Aia (?).

² In Thessaly, *Bull. de corr. Hell.* XIII, 1889, p. 392. His cult was also connected with that of Helius, *C. I. A.* II, 3, 1585, where we have what is apparently an exception to the chthonic company kept by this Zeus. Pausanias (2, 9, 6) mentions together ancient statues of Zeus Milichius and Artemis *πατρῷα*, but it is not clear that the two were companions in one cult.

³ *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 421.

⁴ Zeus *φλιος* seems to be closely allied to Milichius (Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 250, n. 2), and himself shows marks of chthonic character. He is classed as chthonic by Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 357; cf. p. 358 and n.

Let us now look more briefly at several types of Zeus which seem to have sundry points of contact with Zeus Milichius, confining ourselves, so far as may be, to those that receive placatory offering.

In the ritual of the *Διὸς κάδιον* only two are explicitly attested to have had any part,¹—Zeus Milichius and

ZEUS *κτήσιος*.

Says Suidas²: 'They sacrifice the victims both to Zeus Milichius and to Zeus *κτήσιος*, and they keep the fleeces, calling them *δια*; and they are used by those who are in the procession at the *Σκιροφόρια* and by the *δαδοῦχος* at Eleusis and by sundry others for purificatory purposes, and they spread them beneath the feet of those who are to receive purification.' Clearly this is no fleece peculiarly of Zeus, for it is used in rites with which he apparently has no connection at all.³ That the object of the rite, so far as it concerns Zeus *κτήσιος*, was placation can hardly be doubted. He is in some respects very closely allied to Zeus Milichius. His surname denotes that he, too, had the Plutonic power of bestowing wealth (see p. 64). He was consequently worshipped with Demeter Anesidora, Athene Tithrone, Cora Protogene, and the Semnae, all, except Athene, clearly earth deities.⁴ He seems to have been a sort of household god, presiding over the family store and bestowing wealth upon the house. Athenaeus⁵ says that the images of this Zeus were kept in an urn, and Suidas⁶ uses of him the same word, *πλουτοδότης*, that is applied to Zeus Milichius in Orph. *Hymn.* 73. He corresponds somewhat closely to the Penates of the Romans, who were to be propitiated *farre pio et saline mica*.⁷

But he is connected also with agriculture by Dion Chrysostom,⁸ 'To Zeus are given the surnames *κτήσιος* and *ἐπικάρπιος*, for he is the cause of the fruits and giver of wealth and property.' Athenaeus⁹ gives us the ritual of his sacrifice, in which ambrosia occurs. This he defines

¹ See, however, for Zeus Acraeus, p. 79.

² *s. v.* *Διὸς κάδιον*.

³ Cf. Paus. I, 34, 5 for its use in the cult of Amphiaraus.

⁴ Paus. I, 31, 4.

⁵ II, p. 473 b.

⁶ *s. v.* *Zeus κτήσιος*.

⁷ Hor. *C.* 3, 23, 19 f.

⁸ *Or. I*, 57 R.

⁹ II, p. 473 c.

as pure water, olive oil, and *παγκαρπία*, which he elsewhere¹ defines on the authority of Harpocration as pounded cakes boiled with honey.² For the use of *νηφάλια* in chthonic cult see p. 68. The use of the honey cake in these cults is very frequent.

I class Zeus *κτήσιος* with the chthonic gods³ chiefly because of his connection with Zeus Milichius in the use of the *Διὸς κώδιον*, and because the two cults, so far as we know them, and the functions of the two deities are so similar. *Κτήσιος*,⁴ indeed, may possibly be merely a descriptive name of the same being who is indicated by the euphemistic title of Milichius.

ZEUS *χθόνιος*.

Here we might expect to find a clearer case of an earth-Zeus. Two instances of propitiation are attested in this cult, one where Hesiod⁵ warns the farmer 'to pray to Zeus Chthonius and to holy Demeter that they may cause the holy corn of Demeter to teem in full perfection'; the other in an inscription found at Myconos,⁶ in which the worshipper is directed to sacrifice to Zeus Chthonius on behalf of the crops, and to Ge Chthonia *ε[π]τα μέλανα ἔρησι[α]*, of which sacrifice no stranger may eat. It has been thought by some⁷ that Pluto is meant wherever Zeus Chthonius is mentioned, but in these passages it seems much more likely that we have a god of agriculture, coupled as he is, not with Persephone as in the Orphic Hymns, but with Demeter and Ge. His

¹ 14, p. 648 b.

² A similar offering was received by Zeus Georgus (*C. I. A.* III, 77, 2), a god who is almost certainly the same as Zeus Chthonius, for whom see above. This sacrifice fell on the 30th of *Μαιμακτηριών*, a month especially sacred to the dead (Aristoph. *frag.* 278, Kock) and on a day which was considered peculiarly theirs; cf. Bekker, *Anecdota*, 308, 5.

³ As do Müller, *Eumenides*, p. 188, n. 3, and Miss Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 643.

⁴ v. Prott (*Mitth. Ath. Inst.* XXIII, 1898, p. 223) considers him only a form of Zeus Chthonius; cf. *Leges Sacrae*, I, p. 10, and note that there is attested, *ibid.* II, pp. 312 f., an altar of *Kτήσιος*, not Zeus *κτήσιος*.

⁵ *Op.* 465.

⁶ Ditt. *Syll.* 615, 25 ff.

⁷ Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I, p. 798; Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 1606; Stoll, in Roscher, *op. cit.* I, 908. Zeus Catachthonius seems certainly to be Pluto, and in the *Orphic Hymns*, e. g. 70, 2 and 18, 3, as in Nonnus, *Dionys.* 6, 156 ff., Zeus Chthonius has the same significance.

chthonic nature is sufficiently clear from his surname, but we must note further that he receives black victims¹ (p. 74).

The position of

ZEUS μαιμάκτης

is harder to determine. Hesychius² considers him the same as Milichius and Catharsius. Harpocration³ thus explains the surname: 'The first month among the Athenians, named from Zeus *μαιμάκτης*. For he who is wild and turbulent is *μαιμάκτης*, as Lysimachus says in his treatise on the Athenian months. Now, as winter begins in this month, the air is disturbed and suffers change.'⁴ To Zeus *μαιμάκτης* apparently is ascribed the sending of wild storms and cold blasts, which harm the crops, so that it becomes necessary to avert this injury by propitiatory practices, and in this month there was performed at Athens a ceremony of (propitiatory) purification.⁵ I cannot discover that this rite had any distinctive name nor find express testimony that it was performed in honor of Zeus *μαιμάκτης*. Indeed an inscription⁶ seems to show that the sacrifice was in honor rather of Zeus Georgus, while from Eustathius⁷ we should certainly conclude, in the absence of other testimony, that Zeus Milichius received it. This fact, taken together with what Hesychius says above, makes it seem that *μαιμάκτης* and Milichius at least, and probably Catharsius and Georgus, were either one and the same or were practically indistinguishable in cult. Just as the *Διάστα* were intended to propitiate the old Milichian deity on the first appearance of the ear, just as the *Διπόλια* were celebrated in honor of Zeus *πολιεύς* when the harvest was ready for the sickle, so the *Μαιμακτήρια* (?) were performed in November to assure the welfare of

¹ Dittenberger observes on this inscription that elsewhere the victims of the chthonic gods are burned entire, but here the skins are removed, whence they are called *δερπά* (*sc. λερέα*), cf. *Hermes*, XXXIX, 1904, pp. 611-14, as *καυτός* (616, 31) is used of a victim that is wholly burned. The fact that this sacrifice, at once propitiatory and chthonic, demands only that no stranger partake of it, while the holocaust is the rule in chthonic and propitiatory offerings, is an illustration of the way in which the stringent provisions of the old cult were evaded or modified.

² *s. v. Μαιμάκτης*.

³ *s. v. Μαιμακτηριών*.

⁴ *C. I. A.* III, 77, 12, an inscription, however, of imperial times.

⁵ p. 1935, 8.

the newly sown seed. As the three agricultural feasts correspond to three stages of the growth of the grain, it seems probable that the three recipient deities were equally closely connected. Perhaps we have here, transferred to the immigrant Zeus, three stages of the cult of one Pelasic deity, who belonged to a chthonic and apotropaic stratum of religious thought and practice. The connection with Zeus Catharsius, hinted at by Hesychius, is not difficult if we note that the *Μαιμάκτηρια* (?) were *καθαρμοί* directed to Zeus Milichius,¹ whom Hesychius considers the same as *Μαιμάκτης*.

The late inscription,² mentioned above, shows us that the ritual of this cult was much the same as that of Zeus *κτήσιος*. The use of the *Διὸς κώδιον* in this rite is attested by Eustathius,³ though ascribed to Zeus Milichius.

At this point we must observe that Zeus *μαιμάκτης* belongs to a considerable class of deities, which are reckoned among the earth-gods by virtue of their functions rather than of their cult, of which, indeed, we know very little, although, so far as our information extends, it too points in the same direction. From the above passages it is clear that he held sway over storm and wind, which he might let loose to the utter detriment of the crops. Wind and rain are of course closely connected in popular thought. But the ancients, differing widely from us, supposed the winds to be chthonic, as is evident from their cult⁴ and from the fact that they dwelt in subterranean places,⁵ in caves of the earth. Aristotle⁶ says that from the earth arise winds and thunders and lightnings and whirlwinds and bolts.⁷ The scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes⁸ says that in Thrace there is a pit from which come blasts of wind and the Thracians call it the dwelling-place of the winds. From such a phenomenon the idea of the chthonic abode of the winds might

¹ Eustath. p. 1935, 8.

² *C. I. A.* III, 77.

³ *I. c.*

⁴ Stengel, *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, pp. 627-35, and XVI, 1881, pp. 346-50.

⁵ Especially in the Latin poets (under Greek influence); Verg. *Aen.* I, 52 ff.; *Lucre.* 6, *passim*, e. g. 536 ff., 557 ff., 578 ff., 684.

⁶ *De mundo*, 4; I, 394 a, 17.

⁷ See p. 77.

⁸ I, 826.

well arise.¹ Pausanias,² speaking of premonitory symptoms of earthquakes adds: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω πνευμάτων ὑφήγησις ἴσχυρά.³

It might be expected, then, that the storms to which the winds give rise should also have their origin in subterranean places. The monstrous forms under which the Greek fancy represented wind and tempest were said to be earthborn. The story that the chthonic Cyclopes gave Zeus his thunderbolts⁴ may well denote that the thunderbolt was originally proper not to the Olympian but to the earth-god.⁵ Thunder can hardly have been ascribed to Zeus in Pelasgian days, when the sky-god of the Dorians was yet unknown, still less if the predominant worship of the land was directed to cave-dwelling earth-gods. Even after the transference of the phenomena of the thunderstorm to the new chief of the gods, much of the phraseology of the old ideas remained. So, I think, should be explained the not infrequent references to chthonic thunder,⁶ the thunder of Zeus Chthonius, the nether thunder of Zeus, chthonic rain-bringing thunders,—passages which the scholiasts had much difficulty to interpret.⁷ We read also of chthonic lightning in Pliny⁸ and Seneca,⁹ and on sepulchral inscriptions, found in Phrygia,¹⁰ we find Zeus Βροντῶν, the thunderer.

¹ Cf. Cic. *de div.* 2, 19, 44; schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 508 *fin.*; Paus. 8, 29, 1.

² 7, 24, 8.

³ Cf. Ov. *Met.* 15, 298 ff.; Pliny, *N. H.* 2, 114, and 2, 131.

⁴ Hes. *Th.* 504 f.; Apollod. 1, 2, 1, 3.

⁵ Cf. Hoffmann, *Kronos und Zeus*, pp. 144 f.

⁶ Aesch. *Prom.* 993 (cf. *frag.* 57, 10 f., Nauck²); Soph. *O. C.* 1606; Eur. *El.* 748; *Alc.* 905; Aristoph. *Av.* 1745 ff., 1749 ff.

⁷ For a generous choice of interpretations see the scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 1745, where his longest, the third, seems to me to contain the truth; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1201; Acc. *Troades*, *frag.* 2, Ribbeck; Eur. *frag.* 477 (475), l. 11, Nauck²; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 48, 69; Suidas, s. v. χθονίας βροντάς.

⁸ N. H. 2, 138 and 2, 131.

⁹ Nat. Qu. 2, 49, 3; cf. Mayer, *Giganten*, p. 109, n. 133.

¹⁰ C. I. G. 3819: θεοί[ε] καταχθονοί[ε] καὶ Δι[ο]ς Βροντ[ό]ντι. See Ramsay, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* III, 1882, p. 124, and Körte, in *Mith. Ath. Inst.* XXV, 1900, pp. 421 ff. Sometimes on these gravestones Brontos is replaced by Καταβάτης; cf. *Rhein. Mus.* LX, 1905, p. 12, n. 1. This is the equivalent of Κεραύνος, for places struck by lightning were sacred to Zeus καταβάτης and lightning itself is καταβάτης (Aesch. *Prom.* 359; Orph. *H.* 19, 12). The schol. on Aristoph. *Pax*, 650, says that the chthonic Hermes in Athens and Rhodes was called καταβάτης. That the

We shall perhaps find no better opportunity than here for the discussion of a whole group of Zeus types which have to do with rain and the phenomena of the weather. Morgan has shown¹ how rarely it is Zeus who is expected to send the rain. He expressed his belief² that it was not the deities of the sky, but those of spring and fountain in whose control lay the treasures of the rain.³ There are, however, certain indications or express *testimonia* that rites to dispel drought were directed to Zeus, and to these we shall turn for a moment. Many of the rites to be mentioned have the stamp of antiquity and doubtless hark back to the time when Zeus of the sky was yet an unknown factor in the religion of Southern Greece.

Our first instance is a sacrifice to

ΖΕΥΣ ἀκταιος,

described in Dicaearchus Messenius⁴: ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους (Pelion) κορυφῆς σπῆλαιον ἔστι τὸ καλούμενον Χειρώνιον, καὶ Διὸς ἀκταιονὶ ιερόν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καῦμα ἀναβαίνοντι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ιερέως, ἐνεζωμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινά· τοιούτοις συμβάνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῦχος εἶναι. This sacrifice is offered apparently as a propitiatory rite in behalf of the crops to a deity whose surname is doubtful.⁵ If we retain the reading ἀκταιον — and the con-

corresponding Zeus καταβάτης should also be chthonic consorts well with his appearance on tombstones; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 148 and n. 3; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* XI, 1907, p. 359.

¹ *Transac. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXII, 1901, pp. 83 ff.

² P. 108, since justified to a degree by the work of Ballantine, *Harvard Studies*, XV, pp. 77 ff.

³ There is something to be said for the chthonic nature of the nymphs of spring and fountain water in general, see p. 81.

⁴ Müller, *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* II, p. 262.

⁵ Many scholars would read *dkpalov* for *dkralov*. Sacrifices are attested to Zeus Acraeus in Nicolaus Damascenus (*F. H. G.* III, p. 377), and he is frequently mentioned in the literature as well as on the stones. In favor of *dkpalov* are Wentzel, ap. Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* I, 1193 f.; Stoll, ap. Roscher, *Aufz. Lex.* I, 215; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 144, n., and inscriptions discovered in the vicinity lend support to this reading; cf. Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, I, p. 50 e. If *dkpalov* be the true reading we have to note that, although it has been said (e. g. by Stengel, *Kult.-alt.*, p. 22) that it is the sky-gods who are worshipped preëminently on the mountain tops, the chthonic

nection of the deity with the cave of Chiron,¹ in which there was a statue of Actaeon,² is a point in favor of such retention,—we have very probably an absorption by Zeus of the cult of the primitive cave god Chiron,³ just as in Attica the chief deity took over the worship of an old agricultural god. A cave cult goes far towards establishing a chthonic character for any deity⁴ (see pp. 90 f.). As the sacrifice is apotropaic, the skin with which the worshipper was girt about seems to be the *Διὸς κάδιον*, although Dicaearchus, not understanding the rite, but naturally feeling called upon to explain why thick fleeces were worn at the time of the greatest heat, advanced a fanciful reason,⁵—the cold on the mountain top.

Taking into account the time of the year and the agricultural needs of the season at which this sacrifice came, there can be little doubt that the prayer to Zeus demanded rain. But is it possible that rain as well as thunder and lightning was ever supposed to arise from the earth rather than to descend from the skies? Certainly rain was supposed to come from a fountain, sent up by the fountain deities, which resided in the earth. On Mt. Lycaeum, in Arcadia, there was a fountain where the priest of Zeus Lycaeum used to charm *up* the rain by stirring the surface of the pool with a branch of oak.⁶ Thereupon a sort of mist would

gods in the valley, there occur several instances where the sanctuaries of these *θεοὶ ἀκράῖοι* are caves, as in the cases of the Cretan and probably of the Lycaean Zeus; and these caves can scarcely be sanctuaries of sky-gods; cf. pp. 90 f. The temple of the Cyllenean Hermes, an Arcadian cave god, was situated on the summit of Mt. Cyllene, Paus. 8, 17, 1. But, doubtless, with the growing importance of the god of the sky, men came to consider that the fact of worship on a mountain top denoted a deity of the heavens, and we actually find mention of *white* victims in the cult of Zeus Acraeus, v. Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, pp. 245 f. (No. 82), as we do in that of the more clearly chthonic Zeus *Kρήνος*, Demosthenes, 21, 53. Does the incident related by the scholiast on Eur. *Med.* 273, *δυστὰ . . . τέκνα*, connect Hera *ἀκράλα* with the cult of the dead,—the slain children of Medea?

¹ Dic. Mess., *l. c.*; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 116.

² Apollod. 3, 4, 4, 4.

³ So Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 27.

⁴ Such a character was recognized for this deity by H. D. Müller, *Mythologie der griech. Stämme*, II, pp. 113 ff., esp. 116; cf. Hoffmann, *Kronos und Zeus*, p. 195.

⁵ Cf. Hoffmann, *l. c.*

⁶ Paus. 8, 38, 4.

arise from the pool and from this a cloud, whence issued the desired rain. Very clearly this rain was supposed to come from the earth. The whole rite may have belonged to some mountain deity or fountain nymph,¹ whose functions and cult alike Zeus took over when, as we shall have occasion to suspect, he absorbed the cult of an old Arcadian mountain god.

The rain god is not always the sky-god; sometimes, naturally enough, it is the water god,² and in this way the rite on Lycaeus might be explained, but when we find that Rhea prays to Ge for water,³ and read in the *Precatio Terrae*:⁴

Tu Ditis umbras tegis et inmensem chaos
ventusque et imbres tempestatesque attines
et cum libet dimittis,

it is apparent that not even to the men of later days was the idea of some connection between the earth and the production of rain utterly foreign. The lack of rain, at least, was connected with quakings of the earth. Pausanias⁵ says that an earthquake is preceded by continuous rain or drought,⁶ and it is possible to point to several cases of supposed connection between the phenomena of rain and the souls of the dead. Mela⁷ declares that rain regularly results (*solent imbres spargi*) from the removal of a handful of earth from the hill that formed the grave of Antaeus. Porphyrius, after saying that the souls of the dead are demons and might fittingly be called detrimental,⁸ goes on to say that these evil demons cause much harm, for they are the cause *τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν παθημάτων*, such as famine, scarcity, earthquakes, droughts, and such things.⁹ Here, too, we find earthquakes brought into connection with lack of rain.¹⁰

¹ Perhaps Hagni, Paus. 8, 38, 3.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 235.

³ Callimachus, *H.* 1, 28 f

⁴ Bährens, *Poetae Lat. Min.* I, p. 139, ll. 7 ff.

⁵ 7, 24, 7.

⁶ The chthonic spirits of Nicaraguan volcanoes are appeased on the occasion of earthquake or drought; Tylor, *op. cit.* II, p. 189.

⁷ 3, 106.

⁸ *De abst.* 2, 38 fin.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2, 40.

¹⁰ Lack of space forbids the discussion of corresponding ideas and customs among modern peoples. I shall merely add references to certain customs which seem to

When a spring is disturbed to produce rain, the object is merely to disturb the deity in its subterranean abode. That at least some deities of springs were chthonic may be seen from the sacrifice made into a fountain to Demeter and Persephone,¹ who are nothing if not chthonic, and the fact that a lamb intended for Hades was thrown into a spring.² Amphiaraus had a spring beneath which he was supposed to dwell;³ coins thrown into it were thought of as given to the god himself.⁴

With the spread of the worship of the sky-god, however, the phenomena of the rain were transferred to him. But the old idea frequently crops out from beneath the new, as in those cases where we have testimony of rites and sacrifices offered for rain to subterranean deities.

ZEUS ικμαῖος.

Zeus ικμαῖος⁵ was appeased at a time of great heat, because of the failure of the etesian winds.⁶ Apollonius Rhodius⁷ mentions an altar of his and the scholiast⁸ explains the name as follows: *τοντέστι διύγρου, ἐπεὶ αἴτιος γέγονε τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων*. The etesian winds, he says

show that a connection between rain and the gods of the dead, alien as it is to our ideas, is actually supposed to exist among some races of mankind: Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, LXXXIX, pp. 41 f., ed. Liebrecht; Frazer, *Golden Bough*⁹, I, pp. 81-114, especially pp. 82 and 100; Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 345 f. While all our testimony to the existence of these ideas among the Greeks is late, it must be remembered that such ideas are very persistent among the masses, and that it is only late that popular beliefs receive much attention among the Greek writers. They are far more likely to belong to a primitive period than to the times in which we first hear of them.

¹ Diod. 4, 23, 4; cf. 5, 4, 1.

² Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.*, p. 364 F; cf. Creuzer, *Symbolik*³, III, p. 502, n. 1.

³ Paus. 1, 34, 4.

⁴ Cf. Paus. 2, 37, 5 and note the connection of the chthonic deities of the Norse with springs; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 286. Observe further the use of the *manalis lapis* as a rain charm, Fest. ap. Paul. 128; cf. Macrob. 1, 16, 18, and the testimony of Ovid, *Fast. 1, 681*, that Ceres and Proserpina were called upon for rain.

⁵ In cult he is rather a wind than a rain god. On his surname my colleague, Dr. W. A. Heidel, who has made several helpful suggestions for the revision of this paper, furnishes me the following note: “*ικμᾶς* in Greek philosophy usually = *δραθυμαῖος*, ‘evaporation,’ from which rain is precipitated, and ‘moist exhalation’ in general.”

⁶ Clem. Alex. *Strom. 6, 3, 29*, p. 753 P.

⁷ 2, 520 ff.

⁸ On 2, 524.

elsewhere,¹ averted drought. The winds are no longer inhabitants of subterranean places, but have come under the sway of Zeus; the sacrifices once used to appease them are now directed to Zeus, who as lord of the winds assumes chthonic functions. Nonnus² describes a sacrifice to this same deity. In answer to the offering, *πέμψεν δλεξιάκων ἀνέμων ἀντίπνοον αὔρην*. One feature of this sacrifice was the *μελίκρατον*, a type of *νηφάλιον*, which appears especially in chthonic worship (see p. 86).

ZEUS ὄμβριος.

By a sacrifice of himself to Zeus ὄμβριος in time of drought, a certain Molpis secured for his country the boon of rain.³ Such a deity is, perhaps, not especially significant in connection with agricultural deities, such as Demeter *προηροσία* and Poseidon *φυτάλμος*.⁴ But he seems to be also an apotropaic deity, and these, as a class, are chthonic (p. 110). Pausanias⁵ says that on Parnes, Zeus has an altar at which they sacrifice, now to ὄμβριος, now to ἀπήμος, and the *Chronicum Parium*⁶ relates that after the flood Deucalion built a shrine to Zeus ὄμβριος ἀπήμος⁷ and τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν. From another source⁸ we learn that it was Zeus *φύξιος*, whose surname is practically synonymous with ἀπήμος, that received this sacrifice. The connection of Zeus ὄμβριος with the apotropaic deities Zeus ἀπήμος and Zeus *φύξιος* appears by no means without significance.

ZEUS ὑέτιος.

From an inscription,⁹ dating 260–200 B.C., we learn of a sacrifice to Zeus ὑέτιος, which can hardly be other than a propitiatory offering to secure rain. Such a sacrifice Pausanias¹⁰ says was offered to Zeus and Hera conjointly on Mt. Arachnaeus. The same author,¹¹ describing what he saw in a certain grove, catalogues what is evidently a collection of chthonic deities. There was a temple of Trophonius and a statue

¹ On 2, 500.

³ Tzetzes on Lycophron, 160.

² Dionys. 5, 270 ff.

⁴ Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 158 E.

⁵ 1, 32, 2.

⁶ 4 = C. I. G. 2374, 7.

⁷ This restoration of Boeckh's is, however, somewhat doubtful.

⁸ Apollod. 1, 7, 2, 4.

⁹ Ditt. *Syll.* 735, 3 ff.

¹⁰ 2, 25, 10.

¹¹ 9, 39, 4.

resembling Aesculapius, a sanctuary of Demeter Europe and Zeus *νέτιος* in the open air.¹

ZEUS πανελλήνιος.

In the case of Zeus *πανελλήνιος* there is nothing in the surname to suggest the rain god, but our information is very definite. Pausanias² says that when all Greece was troubled with severe drought, the Pythian oracle prescribed the placation of Zeus. Accordingly Aeacus sacrificed to Zeus *πανελλήνιος*, for, says our informant, seeking to explain the surname, *all Greece* was affected.³ Elsewhere⁴ he mentions a sanctuary of Zeus *ἀφέσιος* on a mountain top, and after narrating the sacrifice of Aeacus to Zeus *πανελλήνιος* at Aegina, goes on to say: *φασὶ — κορισσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι, καὶ δὰ τοῦτο ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία.* The text is mutilated, but the interpretation of the surname is clearly wrong. Arrian⁵ gives a different one: Deucalion, having survived the flood and reaching in safety the summit of Argos, built an altar to Zeus *ἀφέσιος*, *ὅτι ἀφείθη ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.* Comparing this with the *Chronicum Parium* (p. 82) it would appear that the etymology of Arrian is the true one, — that is, this Zeus is to be classed with the apotropaic deities.⁶ He belongs to the older stratum of Greek religion, and with the other gods of that stratum receives offerings of aversion rather than of worship (see p. 107).

Having thus reached the conclusion that the fact that Zeus *μαιάκτης* is a god of wind and storm need not deter us from including him with the other chthonic gods of primitive Attica, we may now resume our study of these Attic divinities with that Zeus whom we have already mentioned (p. 75) as receiving one of the principal propitiatory festivals

¹ This is not a collection of agricultural deities and Zeus's presence cannot be explained on that basis.

² 2, 29, 7 f.

³ Clem. Alex. Strom. 6, 3, 28, p. 753 P says that the sacrifice was offered to the *common god*, evidently, in his view, a sky-god. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I, p. 163, thinks this rite founded on a cult of Poseidon.

⁴ 1, 44, 9.

⁵ Ap. *Et. Mag.* 176, 33 ff.

⁶ As Apollod. 1, 7, 2, 4 ascribes this sacrifice to Zeus *φύξιος*, it is possible that *ἀφέσιος* and *φύξιος* are one, but the latter is an apotropaic deity; cf. Dio Chrys. I, 57 R.

of the Athenian calendar,—the *Διπόλια* in the month of *Σκιροφοριῶν*, about the end of June. This was

ZEUS πολιεύς.

His feast Band¹ considers one of thanksgiving. Mommsen² finds in it a considerable element of placation as well, while Gruppe³ makes it a propitiation festival outright, and certainly the sacrifice described at length by Porphyrius⁴ contains a good deal that is very like the rites customary in placation. It is in fact explicitly stated that the *Διπόλια* was originally instituted to appease divine anger. A brief summary of Porphyrius' story will suffice. Originally not animals but fruits were sacrificed to the gods. A certain Diomus or Sopater, however, a foreigner resident at Athens and engaged in farming, had his *πέλανος* all ready on the altar, when one of the oxen, just returned from work in the field, ate thereof and spoiled what he did not eat; his owner in anger seized an axe and killed the animal. When he came to himself and realized the enormity of his action, he buried the ox and fled Crete-wards. A severe drought at Athens was the result, and this the Pythian oracle ordered the Athenians to alleviate by allowing the fugitive to return, and by partaking with him in the impious sacrifice. The culprit was accordingly found and he established the new sacrifice as a rite for the whole city. But when they could not decide the question who should strike the blow, he assumed this responsibility for them, on condition that they should give him citizenship and share the murder. Then follows a description of the well-known rite, so arranged with schoolboy ingenuity that no human being could be held responsible for the slaughter and that the blame in the end was laid upon the inanimate axe.

Among the many obscurities connected with the *Διπόλια*, thus much seems fairly clear,—that it was in its origin a piacular rite to expiate a crime. It was probably directed to Zeus, though the fact that a priest of Zeus never actually performed it may lead to the inference that it was not originally a sacrifice to Zeus.⁵ The meaning of the rite has

¹ *Diasien*, p. 23.

³ *Gr. Myth.*, p. 29.

² *Feste Athen.*, p. 522.

⁴ *De abst.* 2, 29.

⁵ v. Prött, *Rhein. Mus.* LII, 1897, p. 192.

been discussed by many. Stengel, whose authority in such matters is deservedly high, advances the view¹ that this ceremony marks the transition, probably under foreign² influence, from the bloodless to the bloody sacrifice. According to Porphyrius, the rite was instituted to appease the deity for the slaughter of an ox, and that not a sacred animal but a common work-beast. As in placatory sacrifice to Zeus Chthonius, the flesh, though in a propitiatory offering, might be eaten. There is, however, some reason to think that this feature represents a compromise³ between an original inedible offering of a *πέλανος*⁴ and a foreign custom which sanctioned the eating of an animal sacrifice. The whole rite then represents the feeling of unutterable horror with which the Attic peasant first greeted the new style of offering. The fusion and reconciliation of two opposing rituals were brought about by pretending that the animal had not been slain at all. Its stuffed hide was made to play the part of the living ox. This dummy was then sacrificed *in toto*, as became a propitiatory sacrifice, and the old propitiatory ritual thus satisfied, man could follow the new ritual and partake of the meat which he refused any longer to consider as that of the slain ox.

Zeus πολιεύς in Cos received a sacrifice attested by an inscription.⁵ The prescriptions are minute and call for a cylix of mixed wine poured before the sacrificial ox, cakes, honey, the holocaust of a swine, a libation of *μελίκρατον*, etc.; the piacular character of the offering is indicated both by the use of honey and the holocaust of the victim.

¹ *Hermes*, XXVIII, 1893, pp. 489–500; cf. however v. Prott, *I. c.*, pp. 187 ff., and Stengel, *Rh. Mus.* LII, pp. 399–411.

² Sopater was a foreigner, probably from some meat-eating and meat-sacrificing nation.

³ The Coan cult requires the holocaust. In Ditt. *Syll.* 616, 34 we find the word *καρπῶντι* used of the sacrifices to Zeus πολιεύς and Dittenberger interprets the word to mean *burn entire*. Note further that at the Διπόλια the victim was *to all appearances* entirely given over to the god, precisely as in other piacular rites.

⁴ Paus. 8, 2, 3. The original sacrifice of a *πέλανος* to some old Attic agricultural deity was offered entire, probably burned (Porphyrius, *I. c.*). In fact, Stengel maintains that the *πέλανος* was never tasted by the worshippers and that it harks back to the remotest antiquity (*Kultus-Alt.*², p. 188).

⁵ Ditt. *Syll.* 616, 29 ff.

That Zeus *πολιεύς* is chthonic was declared by Stengel,¹ and certainly some elements in his Coan cult point in that direction. To him as to Milichius are burned whole swine. He receives the *μελίκρατον*, a mixture of honey and milk, a wineless libation, such as we have seen (p. 68) predominate in the ancient and in the chthonic cults.² To this particular type of wineless libation, an especial significance is given by the presence of honey, for this was popularly supposed to be effective in soothing an angry deity, and as symbol of death was a regular sacrifice to the chthonic gods.³ He received the *πέλανος*,⁴ which, according to the greater or less quantity of water mixed with it, was either a thick porridge or a cake. This Stengel⁵ affirms to be used almost exclusively in the worship of the chthonic powers. The sacrifice of the fruits of the field⁶ is appropriate to an agriculture deity, while the fact that in the Coan cult certain ceremonies were performed at night⁷ points to the earth-god. Since the Attic Zeus *πολιεύς* and Zeus Milichius played the same part in agriculture, beneficial or detrimental as the case might be, and since the Coan *πολιεύς* received as victims the same animals as the Attic Milichius, sacrificed in the same way, it may well be that these two deities, with which we may perhaps include Zeus *μαιμάκτης*, are only various forms of an old agricultural deity of the apotropaic stratum; this deity may be the same as, or similar to, the Zeus Chthonius (or Georgus) to whom Hesiod bade the Boeotian farmer sacrifice to ensure the welfare of his crops.

ZEUS *σωτήρ*.

We turn next to Zeus *σωτήρ*, whom Robert⁸ thinks is the same as Zeus *σωσίπολις*.⁹ If this be the case, observing the almost certainly

¹ *Festschrift für Friedländer*, p. 420, n. 4.

² It is to be noted, however, that he also received wine, but this element looks like a later addition to the rite.

³ Porph. *de ant. nymph.* 18; cf. Creuzer, *Symbolik*³, IV, p. 351.

⁴ Porph. *de abst.* 2, 29 and 2, 10.

⁵ *Hermetes*, XXXI, 1896, p. 478; cf. v. Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, II, p. 25.

⁶ Porph. *de abst.* 2, 29; Paus. 1, 24, 4.

⁷ Ditt. *Syll.* 616, 41.

⁸ *Mitth. Ath. Inst.* XVIII, 1893, pp. 40 ff.; cf. Dörpfeld, *ibid.* XX, 1895, pp. 200 ff.

⁹ Fairbanks (*Am. Journ. Phil.* XXI, 1900, p. 258) denies that the sacrifice accorded this Zeus at Magnesia (Ditt. *Syll.* 553, 26 ff.) is in any sense propitiatory.

chthonic character of the latter, we start with a strong presumption that Zeus *σωτήρ* also partakes of the chthonic. How far other indications justify this presumption it is now our task to examine.

It would seem from his name that in time of peril a sacrifice of aversion or propitiation might be directed to him, and we have one inscription which may refer to such a sacrifice,¹ but so mutilated that it can scarcely be used as evidence. Our only definite instance of propitiation of this deity seems to be a strange story which connects with a snake a certain Zeus *σωτῆρς* = *σωτήρ*. Pausanias² relates that the Thespians had to devote to a snake one of their young men each year. But the lover of one of these youths hit upon a device whereby, at the sacrifice of his own person, he succeeded in destroying the monster. In acknowledgment of this release, the surname *σωτῆρς* was conferred upon Zeus. Just how he earned the title is not particularly clear. If

Whether or not the rite be propitiatory, the marks of the chthonic character of this deity are clear and well defined, but here, too, there seems to have been originally no connection with Zeus. I append merely a note on this deity.

There was an Elean demon, *Σωτήριος*, whose legend and cult are described by Pausanias (6, 20, 2 ff.). There are several indications that he was a chthonic god:

1. He appears in snake form, Paus. 6, 20, 5.
2. He receives *νηφάλια*, Paus. 6, 20, 3.
3. He was an oath god, *ibid.*
4. His temple was a cave, Robert, see *supra*; cf. p. 90.
5. He receives the honey cake, Paus. 6, 20, 2.
6. His sanctuary was *ἄβαρος* or *ἄδυτος*, Paus. 6, 20, 3.

The Magnesian deity, Zeus *σωτήριος*, presents the following additional marks of chthonic character:

1. He receives sacrifice for the welfare of the crops, i. e. he is an agriculture god, Ditt. *Syll.* 553, 26 ff.; cf. 1. 7.
2. His temple faced west, Kern, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 79.
3. His priest wore purple, Strabo, 14, p. 648.
4. The number nine occurs in the cult, Ditt. *Syll.* 553, 20.

The discussion of these various marks of the chthonian, which lack of space forbids me to insert here, I hope to present more fully on some future occasion. My conclusion is that in Elis an old chthonic deity, whether indigenous or, as Robert thinks (*i. e.*), imported from Crete, was absorbed by the predominant Zeus and ultimately sunk entirely in the deity that had absorbed him. The absorbing deity himself thus took on a chthonic character.

¹ *C. I. A.* II, 325

² 9, 26, 7.

he was the patron of the snake and used it as the instrument of his anger against the Thespians, he could with some definiteness be branded as a chthonian, but that this was the case is not obvious.

There was a curious custom at banquets in Athens of pouring three libations, the first to the Olympian Zeus and his spouse, the second to the heroes, the third to Zeus *σωτήρ*.¹ Hesychius,² quoting Sophocles, ascribes the third to *Σωτήρ*, not Zeus *σωτήρ*; the first to the Olympian gods and Zeus Olympius. In a rite intended to be so inclusive it seems unlikely that the heavenly Zeus would be twice invoked. Zeus *σωτήρ* is not the king of the heavens, but a being belonging to the *σωτῆρες* or *ἀποτρόπαιοι*,³ perhaps not originally Zeus at all. He is a chthonic averter of ill, perhaps coming to be thought of as Hades himself.

Just as Sophocles⁴ mentions not Zeus *σωτήρ* but simply *Σωτήρ*, so Mnaseas⁵ says that Ctesius was the son of Soter and his sister Praxidice. The chthonic character of Ctesius we have already (p. 74) endeavored to show. Praxidice, mother of Ctesius and wife of Soter, K. O. Müller thinks⁶ was originally a sort of fury; indeed we find her completely confused with Persephone.⁷ Soter⁸ here is evidently chthonic.

¹ Aesch. *frag.* 55 Nauck².

² *s. v. τρίτος κρατήρ*; cf. Schol. on Pind. *Isth.* 6, 10.

³ We are not without evidence that a similar name was actually applied to Pluto. In Aesch. *Ag.* 1386 f. Clytemnestra, as she strikes her husband thrice, declares that she thus performs

τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς
"Αἰδου νεκρῶν σωτῆρος εὐκταλαν χάριν,

where, for "Αἰδου, Enger, followed by Nauck, would read Διὸς, because of the evident reference to the third libation. Fairbanks admits that Zeus is here a soul god (*Am. Journ. Phil.* XXI, 1900, p. 245). Ramsay (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* III, 1882, p. 124) thinks that this Zeus is Zeus *βροντῶν*, who certainly has a chthonic character; cf. *C. I. G.* 4501.

⁴ Ap. Hesych. *s. v. τρίτος κρατήρ*.

⁵ Ap. Suid. *s. v. πραξιδίκη θεός*.

⁶ *Eumenides*, p. 188, note n; cf. Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, III, p. 55.

⁷ Orph. *H.* 29, 1-5, and *Arg.* 31; cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v. Τρεμλη*.

⁸ The title is applied to the chthonic Aesculapius, Aristides, Vol. I, p. 125, ll. 25 f., Dindorf; to Cora (Van Leeuwen, on Ar. *Ran.* 377; Paus. 3, 13, 2; 8, 31, 1); while Artemis *σώτειρα* in Paus. 7, 27, 3 has decided marks of chthonic character; cf. Wide, *Sacra Troezen*, etc., p. 43. The *σωτῆρες* are apotropaic powers. Hercules is *ἀλεξίκακος* (Hellanicus, *F. H. G.* I, p. 64, *frag.* 138) and *ἀποτρόπαιος* (Philostr.

The time of the Disoteria, the festival of Zeus Soter on the last day of a month,¹ is significant, for the 30th of the month was particularly sacred to the dead.²

In Pausanias³ we find Zeus *σωτήρ* fulfilling the functions of a supplication god, to whose altar the pursued may escape for protection. On Zeus with this function see p. 103.

I conclude then that, as *σωτήρ*, Zeus belongs to the apotropaic deities, who, as we shall see (pp. 110 ff.), are decidedly chthonic. The banquet-libation to *Σωτήρ* thus becomes an apotropaic rite,⁴ to avert the anger of the irascible deity, who, if duly appeased, has power to protect his worshipper by averting from him all baneful influences.

ZEUS OF CRETE.

We pass now to the discussion of one of the most distinctively chthonic gods in our catalogue, the Zeus of Crete. An ancient propitiatory human sacrifice⁵ offered to Zeus in Crete may well have been intended for the Cretan Zeus, though the late writer who records it gives no surname. I know of no definite mention that the Cretan Zeus received propitiatory sacrifice, but so strongly do the indications point that way, that Rohde⁶ thinks the rites of placation which were so widely diffused throughout Greece originated in his cult.⁷ It was Epimenides, the priest of this Zeus, that was summoned to Athens to purify the city and appease the gods, after the Cylonian insurrection.⁸ Part of the ceremony consisted of human sacrifices.

So different from the Greek Zeus is this god in cult, story, and art that, as long ago as Welcker, it was suspected that the Cretan Zeus was

Vit. Ap. Ty. 4, 10), but also, on coins, *σωτήρ* (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 229). Σώτειρα, says Farnell, *Cults*, III, p. 137, is a euphemistic title of a chthonian Persephone.

¹ Lys. 26, 6.

² Bekk. *Anec.* 308, 5.

³ 5, 5, 1.

⁴ Cf. Ath. 2, p. 38 d.

⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3, 42, p. 36 P.

⁶ *Psyche*², I, p. 272, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 146, and Peter, on *Ov. Fast.* 3, 443.

⁸ Diog. Laert. 1, 110.

originally not Zeus at all.¹ In the Cretan cult there was orgiastic, the beating of shields² and drums,³ and a very un-Greek element of noise and religious excitement. Apparently the Dorians, upon their arrival in Crete, found the worship of an infant deity, surrounded by noisy Curetes; this deity, by a process of syncretism common in the history of religions, the newcomers identified with their own chief deity, Zeus of the sky, and supposed him to represent one stage, — the infancy, — of that god's development. Aetiological legends inevitably followed, but are outside the immediate range of our present study. What the name of the original Cretan deity was, we may not certainly know: the syncretism has been too complete for that; but the nature of his cult can be gathered from so much of it as was retained under Dorian influence. It seems to have been directed to a subterranean deity and to have been chiefly avertive.

I. First and most important, he was believed to dwell in a cave.⁴ Now cave-dwelling deities are *prima facie* chthonic, for deities who live in caves dwell beneath the surface of the earth and in the only places beneath earth's surface where the imagination of man can accord them any contact with humanity. Caves are frequent in Greece and cave cults were very prevalent,⁵ especially in the early days before the

¹ According to Welcker, *Gr. Götterlehre*, II, p. 218 f., a companion of the chthonic Mā or Rhea, — the Phrygian Cybele.

² Strabo, 10, p. 468.

³ Eur. *Bacch.* 120-9; Strabo, 10, pp. 470 and 473.

⁴ Diod. Sic. 5, 70, 2; Ap. Rhod. 3, 134 and schol.; Apollod. I, 1, 6 and 7; Max. Tyr. 16, 1.

⁵ Cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 116. The following deities dwelt in or possessed caves: Rhea, Paus. 8, 36, 3; Hecate, Hom. *H. Dem.* 25; Demeter Melaena, Paus. 8, 42, 1; Persephone was brought up in a cave, Porph. *ant. nymph.* 7; Hades, Aesch. *Cho.* 806, with Oppé, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XXIV, 1904, p. 216; Hermes, Paus. 10, 32, 5; Orph. *H.* 28, 8; cf. Roscher, *Hermes*, p. 31; The Winds, p. 76 f.; Ge, Paus. 5, 14, 10; Erinyes, Orph. *H.* 69, 3 f.; Cronus, Porph. *ant. nymph.* 7; Selene (with Pan), Porph. *op. cit.* 20; Pan, Paus. 10, 32, 7; I, 32, 7; Nymphs, e. g. Paus. 5, 5, 11; 10, 32, 2; *Odyssey*, 13, 102-12; Giants, Tityus was born in a cave, or at least underground, Apollod. I, 4, 1, 4; Strabo, 9, p. 423; Ilithyia, *Odyssey*, 19, 188; cf. Wide, *Lakon. Kult.*, p. 40; Aphrodite, here a marriage goddess, Paus. 10, 38, 12; Aesculapius, Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, pp. 308, 313; cf. *Mith. Ath. Inst.* II, 1877, pp. 245, 254; Trophonius, Paus. 9, 39, 9 f.; Pholus, Apollod. 2, 5, 4, 3; Chiron, Ap. Rhod. 2, 510-12; Io bore Epaphus in a cave,

cult of the gods of the sky became the predominant worship. In the cases where an Olympian deity is worshipped in or is possessed of a cave, it is reasonable to suspect syncretism with an older deity of the chthonic or cave type, or assumption on the part of the Olympian of functions proper to the earth powers.

II. But in the case of this Zeus, it is not only his cave, but his grave that was believed to exist in Crete.¹ We find sporadic mention of graves of gods and their significance has proved a puzzle. Welcker² thought the story of the birth and death of Zeus in Crete symbolized the new life of nature in spring and its death in autumn. Rohde,³ however, connects the death and grave of the deity with his cave and adduces other examples of divinities worshipped as alive in caves, but later conceived of as lying dead in the same cave, which thus in popular thought suffers change into a grave. This does not, however, mean the utter decease of their cult. Rohde⁴ sees in Hyacinthus at Amyclae an ancient deity originally conceived of as dwelling in the depths of earth, but later supposed to lie buried in the temple of Apollo, which was situated on the site of the ancient shrine of Hyacinthus. But he still received his cult in the form of a preliminary sacrifice regularly offered as an oblation to a hero before the sacrifice to Apollo. Similarly Aesculapius had graves in various localities. He, like other chthonic gods, was once considered a cave dweller.⁵ His graves were explained

Strab. 10, p. 445); **Dionysus**, Ap. Rhod. 2, 910; Porph. *ant. nymph.* 20; Ath. 4, p. 148b; **Poseidon**, Paus. 3, 23, 2; 3, 25, 4; *Iliad*, 13, 32; cf. Wide, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 6 f.; **Heracles Spelaetes** and **Apollo Spelaetes**, Paus. 10, 32, 5. Of divinities less Greek we may mention: the **Phrygian mother**, Paus. 10, 32, 3; cf. 8, 4, 3 and Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 640; **Mithras**, Porph. *ant. nymph.* 7. Add further the cave of the old oracle of Ge at Delphi, Strab. 9, p. 419; Eur. *Phoen.* 232; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 5, 135; and that of a similar oracle of **Apollo Clarius** at Colophon, Tac. *Ann.* 2, 54. As to the chthonic nature of Poseidon, Farnell takes issue with Wide; see his *Cults of Greek States*, IV, e. g. pp. 8, 21, 42, 51. But as Farnell himself shows, Poseidon is god of chthonic prophecy (p. 28), of seismic disturbance, even inland (p. 7), and appears on a Mantinean coin with the snake (p. 44); cf. p. 57, etc.

¹ E. g. [Luc.] *Philopatris*, 10; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 17; Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3, 21, 53.

² *Griech. Götterl.* II, p. 222 f. So Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 135.

³ *Psyche*,² I, pp. 130 ff.

⁴ *op. cit.* I, pp. 137 ff.

⁵ Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, pp. 308 and 313.

by the story that he had been done to death by Zeus for raising the dead to life.¹ The grave of Dionysus, too, which was said to be in the Delphic temple of Apollo, Rohde² thinks was really the grave of the old earth-demon Python, stripped of his honors by the arrival of Apollo. The son of Ge, he had guarded the place where Ge used to give forth her oracles from a cleft in the earth, until Apollo took over the ancient oracle.³ While the earlier oracle still flourished, the snake that guarded it had been supposed to dwell alive in its subterranean haunt as did the serpents of Amphiaraus and Trophonius.

On the analogy of the above cases, the Cretan grave seems to mean just this: that the buried deity had been thought, while his cult still flourished, to dwell alive in a cave. When Zeus absorbed this cult, the dwelling was changed to a grave. Instead of a cave god, the old deity became a buried god.

III. Another proof that the Cretan Zeus was an earth-god is the fact that incubation (*ἐγκοίμησις*) seems to have been a feature of his worship. On this interesting practice Deubner⁴ published a slender volume several years ago, and more recently Gruppe⁵ has discussed the practice at some length. I shall touch their ground but briefly.

Whereas the object of incubation was to secure a dream whence the worshipper might derive information to guide him to the recovery of his health or whatever other boon he desired, it belonged peculiarly to the cult of the dream gods. Now it was a widespread belief among the Greeks that dreams came from below, sent by the gods of the realm of shades.⁶ It is clear then that those deities who were believed to give

¹ Pind. *P.* 3, 54 (95) ff.

² *op. cit.* I, p. 132; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 206.

³ For the popular belief see Paus. 10, 5, 5 and cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 2 f.; Eur. *I. T.* 1259 ff., and Mommsen, *Delphika*, passim, esp. pp. 1 and 9.

⁴ *De Incubatione*, 1900.

⁵ *Gr. Myth.*, pp. 928 ff.

⁶ The two dream gates of horn and ivory are mentioned in *Od.* 19, 562 ff., but not localized in Hades. Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 893 ff.), however, so localizes them and adds that it is the Manes of the dead who send these dreams to the upper air. Hecuba calls the earth the mother of black-winged dreams, Eur. *Hec.* 70 f.; cf. *I. T.* 1263; Ar. *Ran.* 1335 f.; Eur. *Hel.* 569 and the *Ὀνειροὶ χθόνιοι* of the magic papyrus, Wessely, *Gr. Zauber-Pap.* 57; 1449. Aristides speaks of a vision coming to him from the chthonic gods (Vol. I, p. 500, l. 25, Dind.), and Pausanias (10, 32, 13)

their worshippers guidance in dreams had something of the chthonic about them. A glance at Gruppe's *Sachregister, s. v. Inkubationen*,¹ and at his list of the heroes of healing in whose cult incubation was carried on, will show how widespread was the practice, what deities are connected therewith, and how largely the minor divinities of the Greeks are tinged with a chthonic character. To this list of Gruppe's should be added the highly significant cases of incubation to Pluto and Cora,² and to an old snake-deity at Amphiclea.³ It seems probable, too, that the cult of Trophonius as described by Pausanias⁴ included incubation.

Now we find traces at least of this practice in the cult of the Cretan Zeus. In the cave, his priest Epimenides is said to have slept for many years;⁵ this is perhaps actual incubation mythologized.⁶ In the same cave Minos received the laws which he later gave the Cretans,⁷ though there is no mention of his receiving them in sleep. The story that Pythagoras, the philosopher, remained in this cave twenty-seven days, wearing black fleeces *καὶ καθήγυσεν τῷ Διῳ*⁸ may well have originated in the practice of incubation.

IV. According to Antonius Liberalis⁹ his cave was *ἀβάτος*¹⁰ and he describes how Zeus avenged a violation of its sanctity.

says that dreams were sent by the catachthonic gods. The dream-function was fastened especially upon Hermes, *τύπτωρ δηλων*, Hom. *H. in Merc.* 14; cf. *Od.* 7, 136 ff. and schol.

¹ *Gr. Myth.*, p. 1907.

² Strabo, 14, p. 649 (41 fin.).

³ Paus. 10, 33, 11.

⁴ 9, 39, 5 f.; cf. Max. Tyr. 14, 2.

⁵ Max. Tyr. 16, 1.

⁶ Cf. Deubner, *de incub.*, p. 8.

⁷ Dion. Hal. 2, 61, 2; cf. Plat. *Legg.* 624, A-B; *Minos*, 319 E; Strabo, 16, p. 762, and 10, p. 476; Stobaeus, *florileg.* 44, 41 fin.; Val. Max. 1, 2, *ext.* 1.

⁸ Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 17.

⁹ *Met.* 19.

¹⁰ This was very frequently true of the sanctuaries of the chthonic powers. Such an atmosphere of terror surrounded them that even to enter their precinct was forbidden except to special persons, while to the shrines of the Olympians access was ordinarily free and open. No one might enter the cave of Rhea (Paus. 8, 26, 3). Into the precinct of Hades none but the priest might go and he only once a year (Paus. 6, 25, 2). Other *abata* or *adyta* were the precinct of the Furies at Colonus

V. We find the number nine appearing in the Cretan cult of Zeus.¹ His attendants, the Curetes, were nine in number.² Minos entered into his cave every ninth year³ and Pythagoras remained therein three times nine days.⁴

VI. The Cretan Zeus appeared in snake form.⁵

VII. Pythagoras in his descent into the cave of Zeus wore black,⁶ a color peculiar to chthonic worship.

(Soph. *O. C.* 125 ff.), a grove of Demeter and Cora (Paus. 8, 31, 5), the shrines of **Amphiaraus** (Paus. 9, 8, 3), Aesculapius (Ditt. *Syll.* 802, 4; cf. 803, 113; 803, 23), **Achilles** (Paus. 3, 20, 8), **Apollo Carneus** (Paus. 2, 10, 2), the *καταχθόνιοι* (Paus. 10, 32, 13-18), **Zeus καταβάτης** (Ditt. *Syll.* 577; cf. p. 77, n. 10), Pluto and **Cora** (Strab. 14, p. 650, the right to enter it was greatly restricted), **Trophonius** (Paus. 9, 39, 12; Philost. *Vit. Ap. Ty.* 8, 19, save after certain ceremonies). Sometimes these *adyta* are subterranean, as that of **Palaemon** (Paus. 2, 2, 1) and one of **Athene** (Paus. 7, 27, 2), where it would seem that Athene has absorbed some chthonic deity as she absorbed Erechtheus at Athens, and as Apollo took over the earth-chasm of the old chthonic oracle at Delphi, which was itself an *adytum*, Diod. 16, 26, 2-4, but cf. Oppé, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XXIV, 1904, pp. 223 ff.

The word *ἀδυτον* is used, to be sure, when there is little or no indication of chthonic character, e. g. Eur. *I. T.* 1155. Undoubtedly the etymological meaning and chthonic significance of the term became obscured. In the two places where it occurs in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 5, 448 and 512) it is merely a name for the inner part of the temple. My instances make no claim to be exhaustive, but it is significant that such a large proportion of them relate to the earth-gods. [Other instances of *abaton* more or less pure are sanctuaries of Mother Dindymene, Athene *πολάτης*, a snake Dionysus, Semele, Ilithyia, Necessity and Violence, Artemis *σώρευα*, Poseidon, esp. Poseidon *Ιππός*, etc.]

¹ Three, its square, and its cube are frequent in chthonic cult. Diels has well discussed the force of the number nine (*Sibyll. Bl.*, p. 40, n. 1). Nine occurs in the worship of the earth-gods of the Greeks, Romans, Umbrians, and Germans. It is found in the worship of Semele, Ditt. *Syll.* 615, 23, Stengel, *Festschrift für Friedländer*, p. 420, because she is reckoned an earth-god, Wide, *Sacra Troezen.*, etc., pp. 42 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*², II, p. 13, n. fin.; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 660, n. Twenty-seven appears in the cult of the Furies (Soph. *O. C.* 483 f.), while at Rome nine is found in the cult of the ghostly Lemures, Ov. *Fast.* 5, 437 ff.

² Strab. 10, p. 472.

³ [Plato] *Minos*, 319 E; Strabo, 10, p. 476; 16, p. 762; Plato, *Legg.* 624 A-B; Stob. *flor.* 44, 41 fin.

⁴ Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 17.

⁵ Schol. on Aratus, *Phaen.* 46; cf. the Cnossian snake goddess, see p. 71, n. 2.

⁶ Porph. *I. c.*

VIII. A picture described in Pausanias¹ represented Anthracia with a torch among the nurses of the infant Zeus. The torch was certainly used in the mysteries of this Zeus.² Diels³ has shown that it was especially connected with cults nocturnal and therefore chthonic, being used for purposes not only of illumination but of lustration,⁴ and therefore especially necessary in the worship of the dead.

IX. For this cult of Zeus was also a mystery.⁵ Preller⁶ had already declared that mysteries had special reference to the cult of the chthonic deities. A recent writer,⁷ suspecting the vulgar derivation of the word from *μύω*, which emphasizes only the idea of *secrecy*,—and some of the mysteries were not secret,—accepts rather a derivation from *μύωσις*, *pollution*. This view emphasizes their undoubted and universal function of averting impurity and consequent misfortune, and makes of them a type of avertive ceremony, belonging to an older stratum of religion.⁸

X. Agathocles⁹ seems to imply the sacrifice of the swine to this Zeus; the animal, however, was so sacred that none might eat of its flesh. Evidently then the sacrifice was by holocaust (see p. 67).

XI. The deities with which the Cretan Zeus is connected in story and cult are largely chthonic. His mother was Rhea and sometimes bears the name of Gaea.¹⁰ The Curetes, his attendants, were said to be sprung from the earth.¹¹ His father was Cronus, whom Farnell¹²

¹ 8, 31, 4.

² Eur. *frag.* 472, 9 ff., Nauck².

³ *Sibyll. Bl.*, p. 47.

⁴ On the lustral force of fire see Rohde, *Psyche*², I, p. 31; II, p. 101; Stengel, *Kultus-alt.*², pp. 88 f.; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 158, n.; Preller, *Demeter and Persephone*, p. 90.

⁵ Eur. *frag.* 472, 9 ff.; cf. Agathocles ap. Ath. 9, p. 375 F and schol. Plat. *Legg.*, Vol. 6, p. 372, Hermann; cf. Fabricius, *Mitth. Ath. Inst.* X, 1885, p. 69, for the discovery of objects used in these mysteries.

⁶ *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 632; cf. Stengel, *Kultus-alt.*², p. 166.

⁷ Harrison, *Proleg.*, pp. 154 ff.

⁸ Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 305 and Van Leeuwen's note. ⁹ Ap. Ath. 9, p. 375 F.

¹⁰ Soph. *Phil.* 391; Aesch. *Suppl.* 890 ff., 901.

¹¹ Strabo, 10, p. 472 (19); cf. Nonnus, *Dionys.* 14, 23 ff., who calls the Cretan Corybantes, i. e. the Curetes (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1155), γηγενέες and Orph. *H.* 39, 8, Abel, where one of the Curetes is said to have snake form.

¹² *Cults Gr. St.*, I, p. 29 f.; cf. H. D. Müller, *Myth. Gr. Stäm.* II, p. 94; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 266 E and *Iliad*, 14, 274.

finds reason to consider a chthonic deity of the early inhabitants of Greece. This latter relationship by itself is not, of course, sufficiently significant, for most of the Olympians were fabled to be the children of Cronus, but Zeus is such in a very special and significant way. Pictures of Pluto¹ were found in the cave of Zeus and it is perhaps the Cretan Zeus who is addressed as indistinguishable from Hades.²

Although the cult of this Zeus was probably originally distinct from those of the peninsular Zeuses, his worship seems to have had a good deal of influence upon the Zeus-cult elsewhere, especially in the Peloponnesus. The salient features of the legend, especially the birth of an infant deity protected by armed attendants, are found attached to several deities in southern Greece, notably to that worshipped on Mount Lycaeus, and that on Mount Ithome, and that of Aegium, and others even more remote. In some cases connection with Crete can be traced even where the infant deity is not found in the legend of the cult. This is true of

ZEUS OLYMPIUS,

whose cult was of very great antiquity.³ Originally probably confined to a narrow circle of Elean worshippers, he finally attained the chief place among the deities of Greece, partly, doubtless, because of the fact that the Spartan political policy had made the Elean games the chief festival of all Greece. In this way, while the Athenian Zeus Olympius continued to have a decidedly chthonic flavor, the Elean became a national god and was much changed under artistic influence.⁴

I find only one notice of propitiation of this deity. Pausanias⁵ says that when Greece was disturbed by civil strife and wasted by pestilence the Delphic oracle ordered Iphitus and the Eleans to revive the Olympic games. This is clearly a placatory rite, though of an unusual type.

[Zeus] Sosipolis, who had a cult at Olympia, has been identified by Robert⁶ with the Cretan Zeus. There are also many points of contact

¹ *Mitth. Ath. Inst.* X, 1885, p. 69 ff.

² Eur. *frag.* 912, 3, which Valckenaer assigns to the *Cretans* of Euripides.

³ Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, p. 9, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Paus. 5, 22, 7.

⁵ 5, 4, 6; cf. 5, 24, 3.

⁶ *Mitth. Ath. Inst.* XVIII, 1893, pp. 37 ff.

between the Cretan and the Olympian Zeus.¹ Pindar calls the Olympian Zeus the inhabitant of the hill of Cronus and of the Idaean cave.² The scholiast comments that some suppose he is mentioning places not in Elis, but in Crete or the Troad. Boeckh, on this passage, however, rightly maintains that the reference is to a cave at Olympia in Elis. For this is not the only indication of early connection between Crete and Olympia. The Curetes, says Pausanias,³ were the first to run at the newly instituted Olympian games. He says also⁴ that Clymenus, coming from Crete, instituted these games and built an altar to his ancestor, Heracles, and to the other Curetes.⁵ He shows us, too,⁶ that Zeus Olympius at Athens was closely connected with the kin of the Cretan Zeus, Cronus and Rhea.⁷ Such facts lead Robert⁸ to the conclusion that the Olympian Zeus is connected with Zeus *σωτήριος* and Zeus *σωτήρ*, whom he further identifies with the Cretan Zeus. The question still remains whether these deities are various forms or manifestations of one primitive Pelasgian deity or whether they are independent divinities, mutually influenced by each other and finally by the all-powerful, all-pervading national idea of the supreme Zeus.⁹ In either case it seems certain that the deity of the original Olympian cult was not the Dorian Zeus, but an indigenous divinity and probably chthonic,¹⁰

¹ These resemblances of course are not found in the attributes or artistic representations of the great Olympian Zeus. Phidias doubtless aimed to embody in his work rather the poetic than the mythological aspect of Zeus (Gardner, *Handb. Gr. Sculpture*, p. 262). The idea of the supreme divinity, father of gods and men, almost completely overshadowed the original deity.

² *OI.* 5, 17 (40).

³ 8, 2, 2.

⁴ 5, 8, 1; cf. Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, III, p. 26.

⁵ Cf. 5, 7, 6 f.

⁶ 1, 18, 7.

⁷ His statement that the altar of Olympian Zeus at Olympia was built by the Idaean Heracles himself (5, 13, 8) agrees well with his further remark (3, 12, 11) that at Sparta there were statues of the Olympian Aphrodite and of Zeus, made by Epimenes, who is well-known as a Cretan and who was a priest of Zeus and Rhea (schol. Clem. Alex. IV, p. 103, Klotz).

⁸ *I. c.*, pp. 40 ff.

⁹ Curtius seems to think that at Olympia the cult of the (chthonic) Zeus *καραυβάτης* was taken over (*Hist. of Greece, transl.* I, p. 247; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 148).

¹⁰ Curtius, *Peloponnes*, II, pp. 53 and 110; Welcker, *Gr. Götterl.* I, p. 134; Deubner, *de Incub.*, p. 50, n. 2.

for there are traces of an oracle where the deity uttered his responses from below ground. Pausanias mentions a story that in ancient times there had been an Earth-oracle on the spot.¹ In the sacrifices to Zeus Olympius the only wood which might be used was that of the white poplar which had been brought from Hades by Heracles,² and near the Athenian Olympieum was a cleft in the earth into which the water disappeared after the great flood,³ perhaps one of the supposed entrances to the lower world. But the cult of Zeus Olympius, more than that of any other Zeus, is a palimpsest, and there is little left in his worship that can give us any idea of the character of the original Elean deity. All the more, however, when that little points to an earth-god as definitely as here, should it influence us in our estimate of the primitive cult and its recipient.

ZEUS LYCAEUS.

Not only in Elis, but in Arcadia as well do we find strands of the Cretan legend. On Mt. Lycaeus there was a very sacred precinct of Zeus Lycaeus. The natives called the place *Kύρρεα* and maintained that here and not in Crete had Zeus been born,⁴ for Rhea, pregnant with Zeus, had come to this mountain and had there given birth to her child.⁵ They showed her cave upon the mountain,⁶ probably the spot where the birth was fabled to have taken place.

There is great diversity of opinion as to the significance of the few facts that we know about this deity. It would seem that human sacrifice was a feature of his cult.⁷ The vast majority of such sacrifices attested for Greece are manifestly propitiatory. Here, however, W. R. Smith⁸ thinks we have a relic of a cannibal custom. But the story told by Apollodorus⁹ smacks rather of placation.¹⁰ After partaking of the

¹ 5, 14, 10; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4, 7, 2; Pind. *Ol.* 6, 6; Strabo, 8, p. 353, for Zeus Olympius as an oracle-god.

² Paus. 5, 14, 2; cf. 5, 13, 3.

³ Paus. 1, 18, 7.

⁴ Paus. 8, 38, 2.

⁵ Paus. 8, 36, 2.

⁶ Paus. 8, 36, 3.

⁷ Paus. 8, 38, 7; Porph. *de abst.* 2, 27; [Plat.] *Minos*, 315 C.

⁸ *Encycl. Britt.* XXI, p. 136^a, — an opinion confirmed in some slight degree by Plato (*Rep.* 8, 565 D), who says that the worshippers ate of a dish that contained one morsel of human flesh; whoever ate this morsel must become a wolf.

⁹ 3, 8, 1, 6.

¹⁰ Creuzer, *Symbolik*³, III, pp. 77 ff., considers this sacrifice propitiatory.

foul feast that had been prepared for him, Zeus slew Lycaon and his sons, except Nyctimus, for Ge, upraising her hands and grasping the right hand of Zeus, put a stop to his anger.

We have here a wild Arcadian mountain deity, probably a wolf god,¹ influenced by the Cretan story and brought into connection with the supreme Zeus. It is possible to trace an instructive parallel between the story² of this Zeus and that of Zeus πολιεύς already discussed (p. 84). ‘Lycaon put upon the altar of Zeus Lycaeus the offspring of a human being and sacrificed it and poured its blood as a libation upon the altar. And they say that immediately after this sacrifice he became a wolf instead of a man.’

Here, as in the story of Zeus πολιεύς (p. 85), we have an account of the transition from one form of sacrifice to another. The old agricultural deity at Athens received bloodless offerings and the transition was in the direction of animal sacrifice; on Mt. Lycaeum the meed of the wild Arcadian god had been the gruesome human sacrifice, whereas that of Zeus was probably some lower animal. In the one case the first to offer up the new sacrifice must flee to Crete; in the other he became a wolf and fled the face of mankind,—a penalty quite similar, for the wolf appears to be a symbol of flight and exile.³ Pausanias implies that Lycaon was the first to offer such a sacrifice to Zeus Lycaeus; he definitely states⁴ that Lycaon was the first to apply the name Lycaeus to Zeus. It seems probable that upon the introduction of Zeus into Arcadia certain bloody rites, which it had been a Pelasgian⁵ custom to sacrifice to a deity indwelling in the mountain, were in effect transferred to the new god by the common syncretistic process of identifying the old with him. Such a custom of human sacrifice smacks of antiquity and may well have antedated any Dorian influence in Arcadia. The flight in the one case then pictures the horror of the Attic peasant at

¹ So Immerwahr, *Myth. u. Kult. Arcadiens*, p. 20; Jahn, *Ber. Sächs. Gesells.*, 1847, p. 423; Roscher, *Jrb. Phil.* CXLV, 1892, p. 705; cf. Höfer, ap. Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 2165.

² Paus. 8, 2, 3.

³ Immerwahr, *Myth. u. Kult. Arcadiens*, p. 22; cf. Jahn, *l. c.*

⁴ 8, 2, 1.

⁵ Lycaon was son of Pelasgus, Paus. 8, 2, 1.

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the new rite; in the other that of the Dorian at the new rite entailed by the syncretism of his Zeus with the god of the mountain.

Several scholars have recognized Zeus Lycaeus as a chthonic deity.¹ His wolfish nature points in that direction.² It is likely, too, that he, or the deity whom he displaced, dwelt underground. For if the story of Rhea's giving birth to the infant deity on the Arcadian mountain was an importation, the cave of Rhea, in which the birth was probably supposed to have taken place, can originally have had nothing to do with Rhea, but must have belonged to the earlier deity whose cult the worship of Zeus had driven into oblivion. This spot was *abatos* (see p. 93), save to the priestesses of the deity,³ as was also the demesne of Zeus Lycaeus⁴; within its limits man and beast alike cast no shadow and whoso entered it would die within the year, or was actually stoned to death by the Arcadians.⁵ The loss of shadow is thought by some to be an additional indication that this Zeus was a god of the underworld and of death.⁶ Here and there, in the Peloponnesus especially, we meet indications that the cult of the early inhabitants was chiefly directed to subterranean deities, many of which, like this of Mt. Lycaeus, were eventually absorbed by Zeus or some other Olympian.⁷

¹ H. D. Müller, *Zeus Lykaios*, *passim*, esp. p. 22; *Myth. d. Gr. St.* II, p. 96; Hoffmann, *Kronos u. Zeus*, pp. 98 ff.

² Rohde, *Psyche*², I, p. 192, n. 1; cf. Schneider on Xen. *Anab.* 2, 2, 9.

³ Paus. 8, 36, 3.

⁴ Paus. 8, 38, 6.

⁵ Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 300 A.

⁶ E. g. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 399, n. 5.

⁷ So at Amyclae, in Laconia, Apollo seems to have taken over the chthonic Hyacinthus (Rohde, *Ps.*² I, pp. 137 ff.). Apollo Carneus was probably a chthonic god absorbed by Apollo (Wide in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 964; Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 749 f.). At Hermione the principal feast day was the Chthonia and chthonic gods received the chief worship (Paus. 2, 35, 5). At Aegina the chthonic Hecate held the chief place of honor (Paus. 2, 30, 2); Farnell (*Cults Gr. States*, I, pp. 27 ff.) contends that the early inhabitants of Greece worshipped generally the chthonic Cronus. Poseidon, who in the Peloponnesus retained many traces of his original chthonic character, Mommsen (*Delphika*, p. 3) thinks was in early times the chief deity of all Greece. That such was the case in the cities of the Peloponnesus Diodorus (15, 49, 4) expressly states. E. Curtius considers the most sacred shrines to have been those of the cave-dwelling nymphs (*Sitz. Acad. Wiss.*, 1890, p. 1142). For other statements and opinions as to the chthonic character of pre-Dorian cult see Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 171; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 589.

Zeus Lycaeus is connected by Immerwahr¹ with Zeus *φύξιος*, whom in turn he identifies with Zeus *Δυκάρειος*.² These three with Zeus *ἰκέσιος*, to whom suppliants fled for refuge, and Zeus *λαφύστιος* make up a class in which Zeus is represented as God of Flight.

ZEUS φύξιος.

To Zeus *φύξιος* the Spartan general Pausanias offered sacrifice in attempted expiation for his murder of a maiden. 'But,' says Pausanias,³ *τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Πανσανίᾳ, καθάρσια παντοῦ καὶ ἰκεσίας δεξαμένῳ Διὸς Φυξίου, καὶ δὴ ἐς Φιγαλίᾳ ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγώγους, δίκην δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεονίκη τε ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ*. According to one account,⁴ it was to this deity that Deucalion sacrificed at the cessation of the rain. At the close of his perilous journey to Colchis, Phrixus offered a ram to this god;⁵ these sacrifices fall into two classes, the one placatory, the other gratulatory.

If this deity is chthonic, the fact must be inferred rather from his functions and his connection with other more clearly chthonic gods of flight than from his cult, of which indeed we know very little. The ram was sacrificed to him⁶ and the fleece of the victim seems, like the *Διὸς κώδιον*, to have possessed such a peculiar sanctity as to form the object of the perilous Argonautic expedition. His presidency over *καθάρσια παντοῦ* connects him with Zeus *καθάρσιος* and with Zeus Milichius, in whose cult the *Διὸς κώδιον* is explicitly attested. He is an apotropaic god⁶ (see p. 110). His function as a deity who could at once expiate and punish crimes of blood⁷ connects him with Zeus *Δυκαῖος* and Zeus *λαφύστιος* as well as with the chthonic deities in general, whose duty it was (p. 107) to punish the criminal.

¹ *Myth. u. Kult. Arcad.*, p. 22.

² I omit this Zeus from discussion as not receiving placation.

³ 3, 17, 9.

⁴ Apollod. 1, 7, 2, 4; cf. schol. on Ap. Rhod. 2, 1147.

⁵ *Vita poetae Apollonii (Rhodii)*, Merkel-Keil ed., p. 534, but see p. 102.

⁶ Dio Chrys. 1, 57 R.

⁷ Wide, *Lak. Kult.*, p. 14.

ZEUS λαφύστιος.

The very name of this god denotes his fierce and devouring character.¹ That he received human sacrifice is the only conclusion we can draw from the oft-quoted narrative of Herodotus.² The eldest Athamanid of each generation was forbidden to enter the prytaneum. If he disregarded the prohibition, he was sacrificed on the spot. Many who had thus rendered themselves liable to sacrifice fled the country, but if they returned and were caught, they were taken to the prytaneum and the sacrifice was carried out. This Herodotus gives as *τὰ περὶ τὸ ιρὸν τοῦ λαφύστιον Διός*. The sacrifice is propitiatory, as Herodotus goes on to relate, for it was due to the anger of the god against Cytissorus because he rescued one who was on the point of being offered as a *καθαρμός* for the land.

Abicht has well set forth the meaning of this sacrifice in his note on the passage where it is described. The rite, in his view, represents the commutation of an original human sacrifice to forfeiture of the rights of citizenship, i. e. the change from physical to civil death.³

We have seen (p. 101) that Phrixus sacrificed to Zeus φύξις the ram of the golden fleece. Other testimony, however, assigns this sacrifice to Zeus λαφύστιος,⁴ and it seems probable that Phrixus would offer the ram to the same deity to which it had been intended he should himself fall a victim.⁵ The confusion of deities is easily explained if, with Müller, we consider Zeus φύξις and Zeus λαφύστιος as closely

¹ λαφύσσειν, to devour.

² 7, 197.

³ In propitiatory sacrifice, the exile of the victim was sometimes accepted in lieu of his death, as in the Roman *ver sacrum*, Festus, *s. v.*, p. 379; cf. the substitution of exile for the death of the manslayer (Hesych. *s. v.* *διεναυρισμός*; Ov. *Met.* 3, 624 f.; Apollod. 2, 7, 6, 3 and 2, 8, 3, 3; Eur. *Hipp.* 37; Müller, *Myth. d. Gr. St.* II, p. 105); or the loss of freedom for the same reason, Eur. *Alc.* 5 ff.; cf. Rohde, *Ps.* II, p. 211, n. 2. Sometimes service in the temple of the god was accepted instead of the victim's death (Tzetzes, *schol. on Lyc.* 1141).

⁴ Pausanias so conjectures, 1, 24, 2. The *schol. on Ap. Rh.* 2, 653 expresses no doubt.

⁵ In place of Iphigenia a stag (Eur. *I. T.* 28 f.) or a bear (*schol. Ar. Lys.* 645) must forthwith be offered to Artemis, and instead of Isaac a ram must be offered to Jehovah by the patriarch Abraham (*Gen.* 22, 13).

related or identical.¹ Müller further identifies the latter with Milichius, and the use made of the ram's fleece does suggest the *Διὸς κάδιον* of the Milichius worship.

Near the shrine of Zeus *λαφύστιος*² there was shown the place where Heracles emerged with Cerberus from the infernal regions. The place evidently had chthonic³ tradition, and it may be suggested that the chief deity of a locality that contained an entrance to Hades may well have been a vicious, devouring earth-god.

The god of the Phrixus sacrifice (*λαφύστιος-φύξιος*) was an agriculture deity. Apollodorus⁴ informs us that the object of the offering was to avert the evil of failing crops.

Such being the significant, if not fully satisfactory, indications that this deity had a chthonic character, let us pass to

ZEUS *ικέσιος*,

who protects suppliants in their flight and avenges any injury done to them. Yet, though this is unquestionably the significance of the surname, his principal attested sacrifice is that by which Medea was purified.⁵ The rite is called *φύξιον οἶτον*, Zeus *ικέσιος* is *ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνοισιν ἀρήγει*, while the offering is that *οἵη τ' ἀπολυμάνονται νηλειεῖς ικέται, οἵτ' ἐφέστιοι ἀντιώσιν*. It consists in wetting the criminal's hands with blood from the offspring of a sow *ἥς ἔτι μαζὸι πλήμμυρον λοχίης ἐκ νηδύος*, held with its neck in a downward position towards the earth. 'And again with other libations did she (Circe) try to appease him, calling upon Zeus *καθάρσιος*, the avenger of suppliant murderers. And all the washings frequent from the house the attendant Naiads bore, who prepared each thing for her, but she within by the hearth was burning *πέλανοι* and *μελικτρα* with *νηφάλια* at her prayers, that she might turn the dreadful Furies from their anger.'

¹ *Eumenides*, p. 139 f. So Wide, *Lak. Kult.*, p. 14.

² Paus. 9, 34, 5.

³ Gruppe (*Gr. Myth.*, p. 456) suggests that the Heracles-Cerberus story may well have been originally localized here.

⁴ 1, 9, 1, 2 f.

⁵ Ap. Rhod. 4, 698 ff.

This 'Ικέσιος seems to have been an irascible deity from the frequency with which his anger or its placation is mentioned,¹ although in these cases, significantly enough, the name of Zeus is not coupled with the word *ικέσιος*.² Wide³ thinks we have here a demon,—originally not Zeus,—who acts as an avenger of crime, but whose functions were transferred to Zeus, although the syncretism never became complete.

The sacrifice so minutely described by Apollonius is clearly propitiatory and contains certain chthonic features:

I. The victim's head was bent to the ground when its throat was cut (*τειναμένη κατύπερθε*), a feature which occurs only in chthonic cult.⁴

II. Νηφάλια were used to appease him and the chthonic Furies at the same time.

III. He was invoked in oaths.⁵ Solon directed that oaths be sworn by 'Ικέσιος, Καθάριος, and 'Εξακεστήρ.⁶ These three are very intimately connected,⁷ for the second and third are practically synonymous, while Zeus *καθάριος* appears with Zeus *ικέσιος* in the expiation of Medea. From Pausanias (p. 101) it appears that *καθάριοι* and *ικέσιαι* are much the same and that both belonged to Zeus Phyxius. Apollonius of Rhodes⁸ calls Zeus *καθάριος*,⁹ *παλαμνάιων τιμήρον ικέσιάν*, thus showing his close affinity with Zeus *ικέσιος*. Zeus *ικέσιος*, or 'Ικέσιος, the demon of revenge, is then to be added to our list of the deities of the early chthonic cult.

¹ E. g. Paus. 1, 20, 7; 3, 17, 9; 7, 25, 1.

² Cf. however Aesch. *Suppl.* 385 and 479. On an inscription, published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* VIII, 1884, p. 503, we find *Δαλμων ικέσιος*

³ *Lak. Kult.*, p. 17.

⁴ Schol. on *Iliad* 1, 459 confirmed by schol. on Ap. Rhod. 1, 587.

⁵ In the Homeric poems, where the chthonic deities play little part and are obscured as much as possible, they are mentioned practically only in connection with the oath (Denecker, ap. Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* I, 2452; Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, p. 36). Stengel has pointed out (*Kultus-alt.*², pp. 121 ff.; *Festschrift für Friedländer*, p. 424) that the regular oath offerings closely resemble the regular chthonic sacrifices; cf. Bacchyl. 5, 42 and Jebb on the passage; also Paus. 2, 2, 1.

⁶ Pollux, 8, 142. He does not mention Zeus in connection with these surnames.

⁷ Preller, *Gr. Myth.*⁴ I, p. 110, n. 1.

⁸ 4, 706.

⁹ This deity will be discussed in another connection, p. 118.

ZEUS πατρῷος.

As Zeus *ἰκέτιος* protects the rights of the suppliant, Zeus *πατρῷος* watches over those of the father. In a Halicarnassian inscription¹ the worshipper is directed to secure prosperity by appeasing Zeus *πατρῷος*, Apollo of Telmessus, the Moerae, and the Mother of the Gods, as well as by honoring and appeasing the Agathodaemon of Poseidonius and Gorgis. The inscription clearly deals with the cult of the dead and with deities for the most part chthonic. Such are the Moerae and the Mother of the Gods. The Greek Agathodaemon is the soul of the departed.² Apollo of Telmessus seems to be god of a dream oracle,³ while the character of Zeus *πατρῷος* may be made clearer by a preliminary glance at the *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*.

The ancient writers attribute to them the following functions:

I. To punish those who violate the rights of fathers⁴ or brothers.⁵ To a Greek such crimes would seem to fall to the oversight of the Furies,⁶ and this function is explicitly ascribed to the Patroan gods only in Roman writers.

II. They are the Manes of the dead.⁷

III. They correspond to the Roman Penates.⁸

¹ Ditt. *Syll.* 641.

² Crusius, ap. Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 1165; cf. Rohde, *Ps.*³ I, p. 254, n. 2. At Soloe, in Asia Minor, Pluto and Cora are *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* VII, 1883, p. 402.

³ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 931.

⁴ Gratius, *Cynegitica*, 2, 451 ff.; Cic. *Verr.* 2, 1, 3, 7; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 769; Justinus, 10, 2; cf. Liv. 1, 59, 10; Festus, p. 230.

⁵ Livy, 40, 10, 2.

⁶ In Aesch. *Cho.* 125 ff. the demons under the earth are spoken of as *πατρῷοι* *αἰματων ἐπισκόπους*.

⁷ Lucian, *de morte Peregr.* 36; cf. Schrader and Jevons, *Prehistoric Antiquities of Aryans*, p. 424.

⁸ Dion. Hal. 1, 67, 3 says that *πατρῷοι* was one way of translating *Penates* into Greek; cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 1, 15. Conversely Lobeck (*Agl.*, p. 1237 f.) thinks that the Romans translated by *Penates* the *θεοὶ πατρῷοι* of their Greek sources, so that Hyginus' story (*Astr.* 2, 40) of the yearly sacrifice of a noble maiden *diis penatibus* to avert failure of crops and pestilence in the Chersonese would be a propitiatory offering to the *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*.

When, however, we take into account those passages which mention only Zeus *πατρός*, we find his function to be that which was ascribed to the Patroon gods as a class by the Roman writers only, i. e. he plays the part of a Fury, a protector of fathers' rights,¹ as Zeus *φύξις* protects the fugitive and Zeus *ἰκέτιος* the formal suppliant.

Like Zeus *φύξις* and Zeus *λαφύστιος* he receives the ram sacrifice,² as do the other chthonic gods with which he is worshipped. But in his functions he is more nearly allied to the earth-gods than are either Zeus *φύξις* or Zeus *λαφύστιος*. For it is the chthonic powers that have in especial charge the sacred ties of family life. If the earliest worship was indeed that of the departed ancestor, one of the earliest forms of activity ascribed to him must have been a continuance of that function which he had exercised in his lifetime,—the oversight of the mutual relations between the members of the family and the tribe, and the punishment of serious failure in the duty owed by the individual to either. Family cult, of course, precedes state cult and, existing along with it, is very little influenced by a new and imported worship, though the object of the latter become the chief god of the state. Zeus, despite his public importance, gets into the house cult only by adopting functions and ritual entirely inappropriate to the god of the sky. In general the family worship would long cling to the pre-Dorian deities.

The foundation of the family may be said to be the marriage rite, and he who violated this holy sacrament was devoted to the chthonic gods.³ In the marriage ceremony they played an important part.⁴ One feature of the rite was a sacrifice to the dead.⁵

As the chthonic deities were so active at the marriage rite, they were naturally interested in the result and object of the rite,—the birth of

¹ Aristoph. *Nub.* 1468 ff. and Van Leeuwen's note; Plato, *Legg.* 881 D; *Arr. Epict.* 3, 11, 5. To these should be added a number of passages, e. g. Soph. *Tr.* 753; Paus. 4, 8, 2; Plato, *Rep.* 391 E, where Zeus *πατρός*, usually a less general term than Zeus *πάτριος*, means nothing more than the 'god of one's fathers.'

² Ditt. *Syll.* 641, 34 ff.

³ To them was sacrificed the Roman who gave away his wife (Plut. *Rom.* 22; cf. *Qu. Rom.* 276 E).

⁴ Diels (*Sib. Bl.*, p. 48, n. 2) has shown that in as many as nine points the matrimonial and chthonic rites were identical; cf. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, pp. 45 ff.

⁵ Aesch. *Cho.* 486 f.; cf. Suid. and Phot. s. v. *τριτοπάτορες*; cf. Bekk. *Anec.* 307, 16; Pollux, 3, 17; Hesych. s. v. *τριτοπάτορας*.

children. The epithet *κουρορόφος* is frequently attached to the chthonic goddesses.¹

It was the violation of blood relationship that the chthonic Furies especially, if not exclusively, avenged.² They did not pursue Clytemnestra because her crime was committed upon none of her own blood, though her husband; not so with the slayer of his mother. At Rome the bond of clientage was elevated to the sanctity of a family relation, and the client who betrayed his patron, or the patron who betrayed his client, were devoted to Zeus *καταχθόνιος*.³ It was as a sort of male fury that the chthonic Zeus Milichius was appeased for the shedding of tribal blood (p. 64). Consequently it would seem that the Patroan gods as avengers of paternal rights and Zeus *πατρόφος* in that function are to be reckoned chthonic gods.

But we can go further than this and set by themselves those deities that have charge of vengeance and punishment in general. The Greek distinguished two classes of deities so different in character and function that the difference is projected into the cult by which they are worshipped. Isocrates⁴ explicitly makes the distinction between the Olympian gods, who send men good things and those who, presiding over disaster and punishment, are worshipped neither with prayers nor sacrifices, but with *ἀπομητά* or rites of aversion. Aulus Gellius⁵ says of Vediovis that he is a god who had no power to aid, but only to harm, 'for certain gods do men worship to secure help from them; certain others they appease that they may receive no injury from them.'⁶ The same thought is expressed by Plutarch:⁷ 'the function of punishment is fury-like and demonic, not god-like nor Olympic.'

¹ So of Demeter, Hesych. *s. v.* *κουρορόφος*; Ge, Suid. *s. v.* *κουρορόφος*; Hecate, Hes. *Th.* 450; Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, I, p. 519; Brimo (Persephone), Ap. Rhod. 3, 860; cf. Hitzig u. Blümner, *Pausanias*, I, p. 241; Rohde, *Psyche*², I, pp. 247 f.; II, p. 81, n. 1. For the part played by the earth-goddess in the birth of children, see Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, pp. 69 f.

² Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 604 f. with 210 ff.

³ Dion. Hal. 2, 10, 3.

⁴ 5, 117.

⁵ 5, 12, 8.

⁶ The formula of the cult of the first class is *Do ut des*, that of the second *Do ut abeas*, Harrison, *Proleg.* pp. 3 ff.

⁷ *de coh. ira*, 458 c; cf. Heliod. 8, 9.

How this division of labor was brought about it is not difficult to see. The gods of a conquered and subject people, though held in a degree of reverence and respect by the conquerors, are apt to be thought of as demonic, presiding over awful magical rites and dispensers of ill rather than of good. As the pre-Dorian cults seem to have been largely chthonic,¹ it was in this case the chthonic² gods, with the heroes and the dead, upon whom this odium fell. The Greek is in his religion a homoeopathist, and consequently it is the sender of the evil that is asked to avert it. Eusebius³ states that the Ούρανοι are the givers of good, the ὑποχθόνιοι the averters of ill. The hero, who had earlier been endowed with beneficent functions, fell into especially bad odor by the first century before our era. 'No hero,' one of them is made to declare,⁴ 'sends any good; ask the gods for that; but of all ill are we the dispensers; therefore, if it's ill you want, pray on; I will give you a many if you ask for one.'⁵

These dispensers of ill, whether spoken of as θεοί,⁶ a title which they tend to lose, or as δαίμονες,⁷ are worshipped with ἀποκομπαί, sometimes called μελίχια or παραμύθια.⁸ Hesychius⁹ says that such rites were performed to the ἀποκόμπαιοι θεοί, which are doubtless the same as those indicated by the more usual term ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί, whose function it was to avert evil, because they were the deities who sent it. Pollux¹⁰ gives them the additional titles ἀλεξίκακοι, λύσιοι, and φύξιοι, the last of which we have already discussed as applied to Zeus, while a passage in Xenophon¹¹ leads us to think that they were closely connected with the σωτῆρες.

¹ See p. 100.

² Aesch. *Suppl.* 25 f.; Pind. *P.* 4, 159 (283) and schol. on l. 281.

³ *Praep. evan.* 4, 9, 7.

⁴ Babrius, 63, 7.

⁵ See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, pp. 169 f., 245, 290, 295, and 299, for examples of the tendency to separate the divine dispensers of good and ill and worship the latter with propitiatory and apotropaic rites.

⁶ Isoc. 5, 117.

⁷ Marc. Aurel. 1, 6.

⁸ Plut. *de defec. orac.* 417 C.

⁹ s. v. ἀποκομπαῖς.

¹⁰ 5, 131.

¹¹ Hell. 3, 3, 4.

θεοὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι

Selecting of these classes that which is at once the most characteristic and perhaps the most frequently mentioned, let us for a moment consider the functions and character of the *θεοὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι*, at whose shrine, situated near the grave of Epopeus, Pausanias¹ says the Greeks do such things as they consider apt to avert ill. Plutarch² tells of a joint sacrifice to Hecate and the apotropaic gods; it might not be tasted, either by the senders or the bearers. Their functions, though somewhat numerous and varied, are easily referable to the root idea of averting ill. To begin with the moral sphere:

I. They could avert crime. Plato³ advises him who felt himself lured to wrong-doing to have recourse to *ἀποδιοπομπήσεις*⁴ and to go as suppliant to the apotropaic gods.

II. They could avert ill omens.⁵

III. They could avert disease, being classed with Aesculapius.⁶

IV. They could avert miscellaneous ills, e. g. civil sedition,⁷ the unfortunate outcome of a war,⁸ detection in stealing.⁹

In addition to these passages, there are two which make mention of *θεοὶ τρόπαιοι*, where there can be scarcely any doubt that the *ἀποτρόπαιοι* are meant.¹⁰ Plutarch¹¹ says that a certain Cyanippus, visited with drunkenness by Dionysus, whose cult he alone of all the Syracusans had

¹ 2, II, 1.

² *Quaest. Conv.* 709 A.

³ Legg. 854 B; cf. Aristaenetus, 2, 8 *fin.*; Ar. *Nub.* 1371 f.

⁴ See Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 26.

⁵ Diod. Sic. 17, 116, 4; Xen. *Hell.* 3, 3, 4, here classed with the *σωτῆρες*; cf. Plut. *de Amore Prolis*, 497 D. Sacrifice after a bad dream, Hippocrates *περὶ διατῆς*, 89 = II, 10, Kühn; Xen. *Symp.* 4, 33; Aesch. *Pers.* 202 ff. So at Rome, Dion. Hal. 5, 54, 3.

⁶ Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 159 F.

⁷ A Roman sacrifice to the *θεοὶ ἔξακεστήριοι* (= *σωτῆρες*) *καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι*, Dion. Hal. 10, 2, p. 1987 R.

⁸ Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3, 42, 37 P; cf. Plut. *Parall.* 310 D.

⁹ Alciphron, *Ep.* 3, 53, 3. This of course is humorous.

¹⁰ Where the title *τρόπαιος* is applied to a single deity, this is not the case. See Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 303; cf. Paus. 3, 12, 9 and C. I. A. II, 471, 28.

¹¹ *Parall.* 310 B.

neglected, committed violence upon his own daughter; a pestilence followed the crime and the Pythia directed that the guilty be sacrificed to the *θεοὶ τρόπαιοι*. The other passage¹ deals with the averting of ill omens. Reckoning these two as referring to what other writers call the *θεοὶ διτρόπαιοι*, we find several indications that point to a chthonic character for the whole class:

I. They are set over against the gods of the upper world,² being classed with Gaea, while on the other side are ranged Helius, Zeus Uranius, Zeus *κτήσιος*, Athene *κτησία*, Hermes, and Apollo, where Zeus *κτήσιος* and Hermes are evidently not mentioned in their chthonic capacity. The case is clearer, however, when we take in connection with this passage a statement of Plutarch³ that the Greeks consider the good part to belong to Zeus Olympius,⁴ the apotropaic part to Hades.⁵

II. Several features of their cult indicate a chthonic character:

(a) None might taste the sacrifices offered them, and these sacrifices they received together with Hecate.⁶ Now we know⁷ that these feasts were set before Hecate at night at the crossroads. Comparing this attestation of night offering with Pausanias'⁸ statement that the sacrifice to the Milichian gods was nocturnal, and also with Plutarch's testimony⁹ that *μειλίχια* and *παραμύθια* were used for averting evil, we have reason enough to suppose that the sacrifice to the apotropaic gods also was nocturnal. But such sacrifices we know to be peculiar to chthonic cult.

(b) They received the *πέλανος* (see p. 86).

(c) They were worshipped in connection with the earth powers, with Hecate,¹⁰ with Ge and the Heroes,¹¹ with Aesculapius,¹² and they receive

¹ Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 149 D.

² Hippocrates, *l. c.*

³ *de Isid. et Osir.* 370 C.

⁴ I. e. the classical, non-chthonic conception of this deity.

⁵ Cf. *op. cit.* 369 E for a similar Persian belief.

⁶ Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 709 A; cf. Eur. *Hel.* 360, where suicide is called *διτρόπαιον κακῶν* and spoken of as *θῦμα τριζύγιον θεῖσι*.

⁷ Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 594.

⁸ 10, 38, 8.

⁹ *de defec. orac.* 417 C.

¹⁰ Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 709 A.

¹¹ Hippocrates, *l. c.*

¹² Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 159 F.

at Rome the same sacrifice that the Athenian Erechtheus performed to Persephone and for a like reason.¹

We are now ready to examine Zeus in the performance of this chthonic apotropaic function, to see if in this capacity he manifests any additional chthonic characteristics.

ZEUS ἀποτρόπαος

received preventive² sacrifices.³ Plato has been advising the tempted to have recourse to *ἀποδιοπομπήσεις* and the apotropaic gods. In explanation of the strange word the scholiast says: *τὰς ἀποστροφὰς τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου Διός, διὰ τὸ καθάρεσθαι τὰ δεινά.* *ἢ τὰς ἀποπομπὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία, καὶ οἰονεὶ καθάρεταις καὶ ἴλασμοις.* Miss Harrison⁴ has remarked on the probability that there is no idea of Zeus in this word at all, inasmuch as “to Zeus things away” is not a satisfactory translation. She connects it with the root of *Διάσια* (cf. p. 64), and indeed there seems to be some connection between the Zeus Milichius of the Diasian rite and Zeus *ἀποτρόπαος*.⁵ With Rohde⁶ I class this deity with the *χθόνιοι*.

ZEUS προστρόπαος,

at least on one side of his character, is intimately connected with Zeus *ἀποτρόπαος*. For the wrath of Zeus *προστρόπαος* also must be averted:⁷ *ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι φασι τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία, καὶ οἰονεὶ καθάρεσθαι τὰ δεινά.*⁸ But the latter has a side on which he approaches rather Zeus *ἰκέτιος* and Zeus *φίξιος*, for it was to him that the souls of such as had met their death by treachery and

¹ Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3, 42, 37 P and Plut. *Parall.* 310 D.

² These are so full of the propitiatory element that they may fairly be classed as placatory. In fact *ἀποτροπασμα* is *ἔξιλασμα* (Bekk. *Anec.*, p. 438, 3; cf. Hesych. *s. v. ἀποτροπασμα*).

³ Schol. on Plat. *Legg.* 854 B, VI, p. 383, Hermann.

⁴ *Proleg.*, p. 26 f.

⁵ The schol. on Luc. *Tim.* 7 explains *Διάσια* as from *διασιαίνειν* and Δ adds: *διασιαίνειν δὲ ἔστι τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὰς ἀνθελέκτικας.* This of course sheds light rather on the motive and character of the festival than on the true etymology of its name.

⁶ *Pr. 2 I*, p. 273, n. 1.

⁷ Schol. Plat. *Crat.* 396 E.

⁸ Cf. Bekk. *Anec.*, p. 427, 5, and schol. Plat. *Legg.* 854 B.

violence might turn for vengeance.¹ But to whom should these dwellers in Hades turn except to a god of death and darkness, especially since it was the chthonic gods that punished the criminal and particularly the shedder of kindred blood? Zeus *προστρόπαιος* then is on this side of his nature a furious avenger of the dead,—an *ἀλιτήριος*.² On the other side, he is an apotropaic god hardly different from Zeus *ἀποτρόπαιος*, since the rites directed to each are described in nearly the same words and their functions are identical. On either side, however, he is a chthonic god.

ZEUS *ἀλεξίκακος*.

Belonging to the same apotropaic class we find also Zeus *ἀλεξίκακος*, in whose cult practically the same ritual appears as in that of Zeus *ἀποτρόπαιος* and Zeus *προστρόπαιος*. His function was *ἐκπέμπειν τὰ φαῦλα* and to his cult are applied the words *διοπεμπεῖν* and *ἀποδιοπομπεῖν*.³ *ἀποτρόπαιος* and *φύξιος* appear in Pollux⁴ as synonyms of *ἀλεξίκακος*. Consequently all that has been said about the chthonic character of Zeus *ἀποτρόπαιος* applies to Zeus *ἀλεξίκακος*.

ZEUS *μηχανεύς*

seems to have been allied in function to the divinities last discussed. The Coans⁵ offered to him a sacrifice consisting of an ox and the holocaust of a swine, both sacrifices to be performed *καθάπερ τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολυῆτῃ*; the holocaust of a swine at least looks like a propitiatory offering. Little indeed do we know of this deity, but his name seems to stamp him as a sort of *σωτήρ*, helping men in affliction and perplexity.⁶ The expression *μηχανᾶς Δώς* occurs⁷ where Zeus is

¹ The suppliant is called *προστρόπαιος* (Eust. p. 1807, 11). The *προστρόπαιοι* were the Manes of the dead who had been slain by their kin (Aesch. *Cho.* 286 ff.; cf. Antiphon, A γ¹⁰ and Γ δ¹⁰), who turn to Zeus *προστρόπαιος* that he may avenge them of their enemies.

² In Eur. *Ion*, 1259 f., the chorus says to Creusa that if her pursuers slay her at the altar she will make her blood a *προστρόπαιον* to them; cf. *Et. Magnum*, s. v. *Αλώρα*.

³ Eust. p. 1935, 12.

⁵ Ditt. *Syll.* 617, 10.

⁴ 5, 131.

⁶ Dittenberger on *C. I. G. Sept.* I, 548 connects him with apparatus of war, and Drexler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 2227, with *μάχεσθαι*.

⁷ Aesch. *Ag.* 677.

spoken of as a *σωτήρ* who is to effect the return of Menelaus.¹ I incline then, though with much hesitation, to class Zeus *μηχανεύς* with the apotropaic deities.

We are finally to consider a number of deities which our evidence does not allow us to assign to any class and which we are compelled to discuss individually.

ZEUS ΒΟΥΛΕΥΣ.

A Myconos inscription² prescribes what looks like an offering of propitiation to Zeus *Βούλευς*, to whom a swine is to be offered *ὑπὲρ καρποῦ*. While Zeus *Βούλαιος* is not uncommon, Zeus *Βούλευς* is found only here. He suggests the Eleusinian *Εὐβούλευς*, who sometimes appears as Zeus *εὐβούλευς*.³ But the syncretism never became so complete or so popular as to displace the original figure. As Eubuleus at Eleusis, so Zeus *Βούλευς* at Myconos appears with Demeter and Cora. There can be no doubt that Eubuleus is chthonic, but there has been a good deal of discussion as to his precise identity. It has been suggested that he is a Peloponnesian figure corresponding to Pluto, and that his giving of "good counsel" is connected with a dream oracle.⁴

ZEUS ΙΔΑΙΟΣ.

We have a well-defined instance of propitiation to Zeus *Ιδαῖος*.⁵ Anchurus, son of Midas, leaped into an earth chasm which opened in the Phrygian town of Celaenae. The chasm forthwith closed and an altar was raised to Zeus *Ιδαῖος*. This is clearly a propitiation of an earth-god. The Roman parallel of the *lacus Curtius*, by which Plutarch⁶ says Zeus *Τάρσιος* was appeased, other writers more properly call propitiation of the chthonic gods.⁷ The only question in this case then is whether the altar was raised to the deity that had just been propitiated,

¹ Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 1565.

² Ditt. *Syll.* 615, 17.

³ Foucart identifies him with Zeus *χθενιος*, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* VII, 1883, p. 398.

⁴ v. Prött, *Fast. Sacr.*, p. 16; cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* pp. 101 ff.; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 932, n. 3, fin.

⁵ Plut. *Parall.* 306 E-F.

⁶ *I. c.* 306 F.

⁷ Livy, 7, 6, 4; cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, 148; Diels, *Sib. Bl.*, p. 50; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 342.

and few would suppose otherwise, as there appears in the narrative no other reason for an altar to him. He was probably a local earth-god, identified with Zeus.

ZEUS Ἰθωμάτης.

A similar sort of deity we find in Zeus Ἰθωμάτης, who was appeased by Aristomenes, the Messenian, with a sacrifice of three hundred human victims.¹ There are some strands of the Cretan myth about this deity. The Messenians would have it that he was born at Mt. Ithome, where the Curetes hid him to protect him from his bloodthirsty sire.²

Pausanias³ testifies to a ram sacrifice in his honor (see p. 69). We get further light from the story⁴ that the secret talisman which ensured the safety of Messene was taken by Aristomenes and buried on Mt. Ithome; the Messenian patriot then prayed to Zeus who holds Messene, and the gods who had hitherto preserved Messene, to be guardians of his deposit. These were evidently the ancient gods of a country which worshipped preëminently the chthonic deities (p. 100). The oracle given to the distressed Messenians on Mt. Ithome shows the character of the deities of this particular district. They are ordered to sacrifice a maiden *νερτέρουσι δάίμοσι*.⁵ Furthermore, it is the chthonic gods that have charge of buried treasure.⁶

We have to note further that Zeus Ἰθωμάτης was an Ἰκέσιος punishing the violators of suppliants' rights⁷ (p. 103 ff.), as well as a god invoked in oaths⁸ (p. 104). Our inference is that here again we have an old god of an early stratum, worshipped by the Messenians as the Arcadians worshipped Zeus Lycaeus, who may have been the same as,

¹ The object was to secure favorable omens, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3, 42, 36 p; cf. Cyril, *C. Jul.* 128 A.

² Paus. 4, 33, 1.

³ 4, 13, 1.

⁴ Paus. 4, 20, 4.

⁵ Paus. 4, 9, 4; cf. 4, 27, 6.

⁶ Philostratus, *Vit. Ap. Ty.*, 6, 39 (275), mentions a sacrifice to Ge for treasure; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 632 m, and, for Teutonic mythology, Schrader and Jevons, *Prehist. Antiq.*, p. 163.

⁷ Paus. 4, 24, 7.

⁸ LeBas-Waddington, *Megar. et Pelop.* 328 A, a work I have been unable to consult.

or distinct from, Zeus Ἰθωμῆτης. In either case, at the advent of the Dorians, both alike, while retaining numerous ritualistic peculiarities, were identified with the chief deity of the newcomers and finally more or less fully syncretized with him. Perhaps something of this sort is the explanation of the statement of Pausanias¹ that the precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome had no honor among the Dorians until Glaucus first made them revere it, probably by identifying the deity worshipped there with their own Zeus (cf. p. 99).

ZEUS *ἀπόμυιος*.

Pausanias² relates a propitiatory sacrifice to Zeus *ἀπόμυιος*. Hercules at Olympia was so annoyed by the swarms of flies around him as he sacrificed that he made an offering to this deity, whereupon the flies withdrew across the Alpheus. The sacrifice, he says, was still in use in his time. Aelian,³ in his account, says the sacrifice was made to the flies themselves.⁴ Clement of Alexandria⁵ assigns it to Zeus *ἀπόμυιος*; only the two latest of our authorities thus in any way connect the sacrifice with Zeus. Now Pliny⁶ says that the Eleans invoke the flycatching god Myiagros, and that the flies perish immediately upon the consummation of the sacrifice; and Pausanias⁷ himself states that the preliminary sacrifice to Athene, at Aliphera in Arcadia, consists of an offering to *Μυιάγρος* as to a hero, whereupon the flies refrain from bothering the sacrificers.

Very likely the account of Aelian most accurately represents the original sacrifice; that is, as Frazer⁸ suggests, the hero who is implored to avert or destroy flies was originally conceived of as himself a fly, but as being at the same time the king of the flies and, therefore, able to protect mankind from the attacks of his subjects. He becomes then the hero *Μυιάγρος*;⁹ later, under the influence of the predominant cult of Zeus at Olympia, he was transformed to a Zeus, like so many other ancient demons and heroes, and received the surname *ἀπόμυιος*. The

¹ 4, 3, 9.

⁶ *Protr.* 2, 38, 33 p.

² 5, 14, 1.

⁶ *N. H.* 10, 75.

³ *Hist. An.* 11, 8.

⁷ 8, 26, 7.

⁴ Cf. *Ath.* 1, p. 5A; *Ael. Hist. An.* 5, 17.

⁸ *Pausanias*, III, p. 559.

⁹ As in Pliny, *l. c.*, and *Paus.* 8, 26, 7.

propitiatory sacrifice in this case had originally nothing whatever to do with Zeus, but was offered to the flies or the king of the flies.¹

ZEUS *κράγος*.

Lycophron² and the scholiast combined give us an instance of propitiation to Zeus *κράγος*.

τὸν πλανῆτην Ὄρθανην ὅταν δόμοις
σύνιν καταρρηκτῆρα δέξωνται πικρὸν
οἱ δεινὰ κάποθεστα πέσεσθαι ποτε
μέλλοντες, ἐν τε δαιτὶ καὶ θαλυσίοις
λοιβαῖσι μειλίσσωσιν ἀστεργῆ Κράγον κ.τ.λ.

on which the scholiast adds: ὑπερβατόν ἔστιν ὅτι ὁ Ζεύς.

This deity is shrouded in obscurity, but it may perhaps be inferred that he was a cave god from Stephanus of Byzantium,³ who calls Cragus 'a mountain of Lycia . . . ; there are the so-called caves of the wild gods.' Hoffman⁴ speaks of the district as a place of chthonic, i. e. volcanic, fire. He considers *Κράγος* to be one of the "wild gods," in whom he sees "disappeared" or forgotten deities, once receiving a regular cult, but now worshipped only as angry powers with an occasional, perhaps annual, rite of propitiation.⁵ The connection with Zeus must be very late. It seems to be still another case of the absorption of an old mountain deity, perhaps a demon of subterranean fire, by the chief god Zeus.⁶

¹ Cf. Baalzebub, the Semitic lord of flies.

² 538 ff.

³ *s. v. Κράγος*.

⁴ *Kronos u. Zeus*, pp. 139 f.

⁵ Cf. Tzetzes on Lyc. *l. c.* The connection of *Κράγος* with Praxidice, whom Panyasis (ap. Stéph. Byz. *s. v. Τρεμλῆ*) makes his mother, is perhaps not without significance. She is Persephone, Orph. *H.* 29, 5; *Arg.* 31; cf. Hesych. *s. v. Πραξιδίκη*. The Praxidice in Paus. 9, 33, 3 are invoked in oaths, i. e. are exacters of punishment; cf. K. O. Müller, *Eumenides*, p. 188, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. Höfer, ap. Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* II, 1404.

ZEUS *μοιραγέτης*.

There is a possible¹ instance of propitiation to Zeus *μοιραγέτης*, where, if the restoration and Mommsen's interpretation of *κῆνα* are both correct, we have a lustral offering to Zeus, who, as leader of the chthonic Moerae, fulfils a chthonic function. Here again we find the surname existing apart from the god. Pausanias² speaks of an altar at Olympia to *Μοιραγέτης*, by whom he infers Zeus is meant.

ZEUS **Αρεος*.

A sacrifice to Zeus **Αρεος* is mentioned by Pausanias,³ who says that Oenomaus used to sacrifice to him whenever he was about to race with one of Hippodamia's suitors, — evidently then a sacrifice to avert the peril of the chariot race or the evil chance of defeat. Diodorus⁴ shows that the victim was a ram, but Philostratus⁵ assigns the sacrifice to Ares. Here then the syncretism seems to have taken place, not as usual, between Zeus and some almost unknown deity, but between Zeus and another Olympian, though an Olympian who came late to that honor and who was long ago recognized by Stoll⁶ and H. D. Müller⁷ to have a chthonic character.⁸ Zeus in syncretism with this deity becomes in a degree chthonic. He receives the ram sacrifice⁹ and he is invoked in the oath as one (cf. p. 104, n. 5) whose anger the perjurer must fear.¹⁰ Panofka, in his learned discussion of Zeus **Αρεος*,¹¹ has shown that he is represented on coins with the cap of Pluto, the *κυνέη*, which especi-

¹ *C. I. G.* 1688, 34; the inscription is badly mutilated and the whole name of Zeus *μοιραγέτης* is restored; cf. however *Paus.* 10, 24, 4. A *κῆνα* is to be offered to Zeus and Apollo, leaders of the Moerae. This *κῆνα* Mommsen (*Delphika*, p. 180) interprets as *καθαρητηλα*.

² 5, 15, 5; cf. 8, 37, 1 and the *μοιραγέται δαμοεις* of *Alciph.* 1, 20.

³ 5, 14, 6.

⁴ 4, 73, 3.

⁵ *Philost. Jr. Imag.* 9.

⁶ *Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Ares*, 1855.

⁷ *Ares*, 1848.

⁸ Cf. *Artemidorus*, 2, 34.

⁹ *Diod. I. c.*

¹⁰ *Plut. Pyrrh.* 5.

¹¹ *Abhandl. der Berl. Acad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1853, pp. 32-42.

ally pertains to the chthonic gods, as e. g. to Hermes, the guide of souls. The resemblance of the *κυνέη* to a helmet may have materially assisted the syncretism of the war god Ares and Zeus.

Some brief notice must be taken of Zeus when he is not propitiated himself, but assists in or presides over the placation of other deities.

ZEUS *καθάρσιος*

was invoked by Circe, when engaged in the placation of Zeus *ἰκέτιος* in behalf of Medea and Jason.¹ Croesus called upon this deity to witness the injury he had received from his guest, who, though purified from a previous murder by Croesus, probably through Zeus *καθάρσιος*, had accidentally slain his benefactor's son.² Pausanias³ saw an altar of the Unknown Gods, and next to it one of Zeus *καθάρσιος* and Victory, and again one of Zeus *χθόνιος*, with whom Gruppe⁴ is inclined to identify Zeus *καθάρσιος*. He is certainly in chthonic company.⁵ Hesychius⁶ identifies him with the chthonic Milichius. He receives *νηφάλια*⁷ in sacrifice.

ZEUS *συκάσιος*

was so named from the use of figs (*σῦκα*) in lustral and placatory sacrifice.⁸ Eustathius identifies him with Zeus *καθάρσιος*, as does also Töpffer,⁹ who considers him also the same as the Zeus Milichius at whose altar Theseus was purified.

¹ Ap. Rhod. 4, 706.

² Hdt. 1, 44; cf. Apollod. 2, 1, 5, 11.

³ 5, 14, 8.

⁴ *Gr. Myth.*, p. 148.

⁵ All the more if the Unknown Gods were ancient Pelasgian deities, whose names had been forgotten, perhaps because, being baleful and gruesome, they were never mentioned by name.

⁶ *s. v.* *μαιμάκτης*.

⁷ *χύτλα*, Ap. Rhod. 4, 710.

⁸ Eust. p. 1572, 58; cf. Hesych. *s. v.* 'Ηγητηρία.

⁹ *Att. Geneal.*, p. 249.

ZEUS ἐπιδότης.

Pausanias¹ mentions a Lacedaemonian deity Ἐπιδότης, ascribing to him τὸ ἐπὶ Πανσανία τοῦ Ἰκεσίον μήνυμα ἀποτρέπειν, — precisely the same function as that performed by Zeus καθάρσος in Apollonius. Wide² identifies the two and thinks Ἐπιδότης, at least originally, chthonic. His name is equivalent to αἰγάλιος and is in the same category with πλούσιος, κτήσιος, and χθόνιος. As a chthonic god his function is either to punish homicide as an ἀλιτήριος or as a καθάρσος to aid in lustration and expiation. He has also agricultural functions, for the Mantineans worshipped him as the giver of good things to man.³ As Pausanias knows nothing of any Zeus ἐπιδότης, and as we find the title applied to Zeus in Hesychius only,⁴ we have here another chthonic god absorbed by Zeus.

This by no means exhausts the list of the deities, which, although they bear the name of Zeus, the god of the sky, are to a greater or less degree chthonic. I have aimed to discuss only those to whom it might be averred that placatory sacrifice was offered and one or two who are otherwise connected with placatory rites. The result has justified Müller's position to the extent that, when Zeus at least receives propitiatory sacrifice,⁵ he very generally exhibits a chthonic character.

We have also come across many interesting facts with regard to Zeus, and it may be well to sum up briefly the conclusions that we think may justly be drawn from the evidence.

Zeus was originally no chthonic power, but a god of the bright sky, not worshipped, however, by the earliest inhabitants of central and southern Greece.⁶ His cult spread by conquest among peoples that had worshipped principally divinities of darkness and death, beings who must be placated. With sundry of these Zeus became identified, sometimes quite absorbing the old god and assuming some merely descriptive surname; but quite as often retaining as his own surname

¹ 3, 17, 9.

² *Lak. Kult.*, p. 15.

³ Paus. 8, 9, 2.

⁴ *s. v.* Ἐπιδότας.

⁵ So far at least as my collection of instances is complete.

⁶ Cf. Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 3.

the perhaps euphemistic title of the deity superseded by him. In this victory over the old cults his own functions became sadly changed, especially in the Peloponnesus, where he had perhaps a harder victory than elsewhere, but often in other districts also, as in Attica, Thessaly, and Phrygia.

So far then as our investigations go, the types of Zeus that receive propitiation may be classified in the following groups. 1. Agriculture deities : *μελίχιος, κτήσιος, μαιμάκτης, χθόνιος, πολιεύς*. 2. Wind and Rain deities, closely allied of course to Group 1 : *ἀκραῖος* [*ἀκταῖος*], *δύμβριος, πανελλήνιος, ἵκμαῖος, νέριος*, to which may be added *μαιμάκτης*, for to draw any hard and fast line between the groups is impossible. 3. Apotropaic deities : *ἀποτρόπαιος, προστρόπαιος* I, *ἀλεξίκακος, μηχανεύς, φύξιος, σωτήρ, δύμβριος*. 4. Punishment deities : *προστρόπαιος* II, *ἰκέσιος, πατρῷος, φύξιος*. 5. *μοιραγέτης, ἀπόμνιος*, as well as a series of deities whose functions are more or less indeterminate and who in general seem to be primitive Pelasgians masquerading as Zeus. Such are : the Cretan Zeus, *Ολύμπιος, Δυκαῖος, λαφύστιος, Ἰδαιος, Ἰθωμῆτης, Ἀρεως, βουλεύς, and κράγος*.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND THE DATE OF THE DOUBLE LETTERS IN OVID'S HEROIDES¹

BY SERENO BURTON CLARK

THE problem with which this article deals can offer no claim to the attention of students of the classics by reason of its novelty. Expressions of doubt as to the genuineness of some of Ovid's *Heroides* occur as early as the Renaissance editions, and the question has been considered by various scholars from that time to the present. That it is, however, by no means settled is evident from the wide divergence of opinion existing among investigators to-day; to cite but two recent views, Schanz² refuses to accept letters 16-21 as Ovidian, while Purser³ maintains their genuineness. The present study of the question is prompted by the hope that a new treatment from a slightly different point of view may yield some fresh material for the solution of this difficult problem.

A review of the opinions held by all who have given their attention to the subject is foreign to my purpose,⁴ but certain facts and tendencies are worth noting. The greatest diversity of view has prevailed: Lehrs⁵ refused to believe that any one of the twenty-one letters was written in its entirety by Ovid, while others, as Loers⁶ and, more recently, Piéri⁷ and Purser,⁸ contend that they were all composed by

¹ This article is a revised form of a dissertation entitled *Utrum Ovidius Epistulas Heroidum XVI-XXI scripserit et quo tempore quaeritur*, accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University in 1907.

² *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, 2te Auf., München, 1899, § 296.

³ Palmer, *Ovidi Heroides*, Oxford, 1898, p. xxxii.

⁴ For the history of the question see Sedlmayer in *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, XXX (1879), p. 816, and Schanz, *l. l.*

⁵ *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, LXXXVII (1863), pp. 49 ff.; cf. also his edition of Horace, Leipzig, 1869, pp. ccxxii ff.

⁶ *Ovidii Heroides*, Coloniae, 1829, pp. xxxviii ff.

⁷ *Quaestiones ad P. Ovidii Nasonis Epistulas Heroidum*, etc., Massiliae, 1895, p. 89.

⁸ *L. l.*

him. The history of the question, however, may be said to begin with Lachmann,¹ for his was the first scientific treatment, and all subsequent investigators owe much to him. From an examination of the language and metre of the *Heroides* he concluded that only those letters could be ascribed to Ovid which the poet himself enumerates in *Amores* 2, 18, 21 ff., namely, 1, 2, 4-7, 10, and 11. Lachmann's views long held the field, owing rather to the authority of his name than to the weight of his arguments. These have indeed been partly overthrown by later workers, among whom appear L. Müller,² Birt,³ Eschenburg,⁴ and Tolkiehn,⁵ so that to-day no one doubts the Ovidian authorship of *Heroides* 1-14. As to the Sappho letter (15) there is not the same unanimity of opinion, for some, e. g., Teuffel-Schwabe,⁶ still consider it a forgery; but for many the work of de Vries⁷ has settled the question in Ovid's favor, and Palmer, who excluded letters 15-21 from his first edition of the *Heroides*, declares in his second edition⁸ for the genuineness of 15. Recent treatments of the *Heroides* have therefore usually considered the last six letters by themselves, a method the more natural because the inclusion of letters by men makes the title, *Heroidum Epistulae*, not strictly appropriate, and because the double letters are further distinguished from the first fifteen by their greater length.

Over these six letters the discussion has been long continued, yet though scholars of note have believed them spurious, a study of the literature from Lachmann's day to the present reveals a growing unwillingness on the part of investigators to reject on account of trifling irregularities of language or metre letters which it is impossible to prove spurious on other grounds. For *Heroides* 16-21, with

¹ Berlin Program, 1848; also in *Kleinere Schriften*, II, pp. 56 ff.

² *De re metrica*, Lipsiae, 1861, pp. 46 ff.

³ *Animadversiones ad Ovidi Heroidum Epistulas*, in *Rhein. Mus.* XXXII (1877), pp. 386-432.

⁴ *Metrische Untersuchungen über die Aechtheit der Heroides des Ovid*, Lübeck Program, 1874; *Wie hat Ovid einzelne Wörter und Wortklassen im Verse verwandt?* Lübeck Program, 1886.

⁵ *Quaestionum ad Heroides Ovidianas spectantium Capita VII*, Lipsiae, 1888.

⁶ *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Leipzig,⁵ 1890, § 248.

⁷ *Sapphus Epistula ad Phaonem*, etc., Lugduni Batavorum, 1885.

⁸ Pp. xxxi, 420.

the exception of verses 39-142 of letter 16 and verses 13-248 of letter 21, have the same manuscript authority as *Heroides* 1-14,¹ and better authority than *Heroides* 15. Further, it is manifestly absurd to reject a poem because it contains lines which in thought, diction, or metre do not attain so high a standard as other work of the same author; such a proceeding is especially dangerous in the case of Ovid, who wrote too much to write always at his best, and who was by nature not inclined to lavish upon every verse the infinite care which marks the work of Horace and Virgil. To quote Piéri:² “Nempe optimi aliquando dormitant poetae ac quasdam sibi licentias concessas esse putant, prorsusque non legis morositate obstringi se patiuntur, ut qui non in criticorum usum, sed ad oblectandos homines liberalibus studiis politos carmina componant.”

No one would contend that the *Heroides* give us Ovid at his best; they are often marred by excess of rhetoric, and they are often monotonous. This latter fault is, however, due largely to the nature of the subject; it is difficult to impart variety to the woes of love-lorn heroines in similar situations, when the theme recurs eighteen times and its treatment embraces nearly 4000 lines. Furthermore, certain of the last six letters are worthy to be compared with the best of the surely genuine poems, if indeed 17 and 21 are not themselves the best of the series. In them the poet manifests his extraordinary knowledge of woman's nature, and paints with equal skill two utterly different characters, Helen, who is not unwilling to sin, but would seem unwilling, and Cydippe, the modest maiden who feels the passion of love for the first time, and after a long struggle is compelled to acknowledge its victory. Again, if the epistle of Hero (19) is inferior to the other five of the double letters and lacks variety, it is surely not less inspiring than that of Deianira (9), which is perhaps the feeblest of all, but genuine. We may then apply to these last six letters the words of Loers³ concerning 16: “In epistola autem XVI una omnia, quae his carminibus et Nasonis consuetudini propria ac singularia sunt, dixerim esse coniuncta. Idem argumentum, eaedem narrationes et descriptiones, iidem sensus et

¹ Cf. Palmer in Postgate, *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, London, 1894, p. xvi.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

³ *Op. cit.*, *praef.*, p. xlviij.

ffectus, idem fabulae usus, eadem in rebus, quae ad Venerem spectant, describendis cupiditas atque subtilitas, eadem humani animi cognitio et in animi amantis commotionibus pingendis calliditas." Recent scholars, too, have not failed to appreciate the Ovidian character of the double letters. Purser¹ remarks: "Even though it be proved conclusively that some of the Epistles are not by Ovid, still there is no doubt that they were written in the Ovidian style and are Ovidian Epistles. Ovid is their ancestor if not their father." "Whoever the author was, his descriptive powers were of a very high order; and there are passages, like Leander's nightly swim, to which it is difficult to find a rival in Ovid himself." Granting, then, both excellencies and defects in the double letters, we cannot infer from this inequality of workmanship that they are spurious; such an argument should no more be applied to Ovid than to Wordsworth.

Since, then, neither the manuscript authority of the last six *Heroides* nor the general character of their thought and style can be seriously impugned, the evident line of attack for those who believe them spurious is to show that they contain peculiarities varying so widely from Ovid's manner as to exclude the possibility of their genuineness. This method has been employed from the time of Lachmann to the present, and in the first section of this paper I shall attempt to show that none of these alleged peculiarities is contrary to Ovid's usage. Considering the excellent manuscript authority of the double letters, this line of argument, if successfully carried through, would demonstrate their genuineness and leave the burden of proof with those who disbelieve. But the case will be still clearer, if we can demonstrate some marked similarity between the doubtful *Heroides* and the other works of Ovid²; to such an attempt the second section of this paper will be devoted. Since the extent of this phase of the subject makes some limitation necessary, the present investigation will be confined to metrical technic. A third and final section will deal with the date of the double letters, in an endeavor to learn if any facts elicited by our previous studies will enable us to fix the time when these letters were written.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxix, 437.

² Cf. Ehwald in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, XLII–XLIII (1885), p. 209.

I

ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF OVIDIAN USAGE IN HEROIDES 16-21

This section is chiefly a summary of the discussion concerning certain points of metre and diction in the double letters which Lachmann and his followers have declared to be irreconcilable with Ovid's known technic, but which according to Lachmann's opponents can be justified from the poet's genuine writings. As has been already stated, Lachmann considered spurious or doubtful not only *Heroides* 16-21, but also 3, 8, 9, and 12-15. However, since there is no longer any doubt of the genuineness of the first fourteen letters, I shall consider these as exhibiting, equally with Ovid's other works, his customary usage, and shall cite them accordingly.

1. In *Her.* 17 *Ledā* (l. 55) and *Aethrā* (l. 150) are found instead of the Greek forms *Ledē* and *Aethrē*.¹ *Ledā*, however, appears in *Her.* 8 (l. 78), also rejected by Lachmann, and in *Amor.* 2, 4, 42, where he wished to read *Lydā*; while in *A. A.* 1, 744 we find *Phaedrā*, for which he desired to substitute *Cressā*. These emendations have no justification,² and Leyhausen³ cites still other examples, apparently overlooked by Lachmann: *Ariadnā* (*A. A.* 3, 35); *Atalantā* (*Met.* 10, 598), but the genitive *Atalantēs* (*Amor.* 3, 2, 29); *Bacchā* (*Her.* 10, 48; *A. A.* 1, 312; 3, 710), but also *Bacchē* (*Amor.* 1, 14, 21); *Neaerā* (*Amor.* 3, 6, 28). Purser⁴ adds also: *Aetnā* (*Met.* 5, 352); *Cassandrā* (*Amor.* 1, 7, 17); *Cretā* (*A. A.* 1, 298); *Europā* (*Met.* 8, 120); *Idā* (*Her.* 5, 138; 16, 110). However, Greek forms are also common, e. g., *Lydē* (*Amor.* 1, 10, 3); *Semelē* and *Ledē* (*A. A.* 3, 251), and, in the ablative, *Cyllenē* (*Met.* 1, 217), *Hesionē* (*Met.* 11, 217); and there is a strong probability in favor of Müller's view that the poet's choice was determined by the metre, varying according as he needed a short or long final syllable. Such an array of examples from Ovid's own works fully answers Lachmann's objection to *Ledā* and *Aethrā* in letter 17.

¹ Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 59.

² Cf. L. Müller, *De re metrica*, p. 389, and *Rhein. Mus.* XVIII (1863), p. 88; Eschenburg, *Metr. Untersuch.*, p. 20.

³ *Helena et Herus Epistulae Ovidii non sunt*, Halis Saxonum, 1893, p. 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xxx.

2. In *Her.* 19, 170 *nihil* must be read as a pyrrhic, *nihil*, to give a dactyl in the second half of the pentameter. Lachmann¹ held that this metrical value is unknown in Ovid's genuine works, where, he maintained, the word always appears as an iambus (u-), or, by synizesis, with the value of a long syllable (-). Müller,² however, cites two other passages where *nihil* occurs in the concluding member of the pentameter and must form the second half of a dactyl:

(a) *Trist.* 4, 8, 38, *quō nihil orbis hæbet;*
 (b) *Trist.* 5, 8, 2, *quō nihil esse pōtest.*³

In *Met.* 10, 520,⁴ *Et nihil est annis velocius*, etc., the value uu for *nihil* is not inevitable, though certainly desirable, since the idea of rapidity calls for as 'light' a line as possible. The objection to *nihil* in *Her.* 19, 170 is, therefore, not sustained by the facts.

3. Another metrical peculiarity to which Lachmann⁵ called attention is the elision of the final syllable of an iambic word immediately before the metrical accent, as *Her.* 17, 97, *discē meo exemplō.*⁶ This usage is indeed rare in Ovid's elegiac verse, for only one other instance is found,⁷ *Amor.* 2, 19, 20, *saepe time insidias*, which Eschenburg⁸ would emend to *saepe treme insidias*, or, following Müller,⁹ reject altogether. Merkel, however, retains the manuscript reading, and this example, with the twenty instances from the *Metamorphoses*,¹⁰ seems abundant to justify the same elision in the *Heroides*.

4. A more striking and important peculiarity noticed by Lachmann¹¹ is the use of words of more than two syllables at the end of the penta-

¹ *L. l.*

² *De re metr.*, p. 47.

³ Cf. also Merkel in his edition of Ovid, Leipzig, 1859, I, p. 10; Müller, in *Rhein. Mus.* XVIII (1863), p. 87; Eschenburg, *l. l.*

⁴ Cf. Lehrs, edition of Horace, p. ccxxiii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁶ Cf. Müller, *De re metr.*,² p. 341.

⁷ *Trist.* 2, 296, *viro ante fores*, is now commonly emended to *vir ante fores* because of the sense.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁹ *Philologus*, XI (1856), p. 87.

¹⁰ *Met.* 2, 314, 315, 483, 774; 4, 86; 5, 670; 6, 359, 660; 8, 727, 819; 9, 20, 299; 10, 429; 11, 381, 693; 12, 133; 13, 74, 79, 122, 767. Cf. Eschenburg, *l. l.*

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

meter in *Her.* 14, 62, *generis*; 16, 288, *pudicitiae*; 17, 16, *superciliis*; and 19, 202, *deseruit*. As *Her.* 14 is now considered genuine, the example from that letter might be used to establish the legitimacy of the other instances, were it not for the fact that the line in question (62) does not appear in the first hand of P, the best manuscript of the *Heroides*, and that the word *generis* is not found in the line which P² has added. Sedlmayer, therefore, rejects the verse, although Planudes seems to have had *generis* in his Latin text. The remaining four lines are the only examples from Ovid's early works of words of more than two syllables at the close of the pentameter. The other elegiac poets, however, do not follow so severe a rule, and their verses exhibit such endings with comparative frequency; while Ovid himself in his later works relaxes somewhat his earlier rigidity, and we find in the *Fasti* two, in the *Ibis* one, in the *Tristia* fifteen, and in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* thirty pentameter lines ending in words of more than two syllables.¹ If the poet allowed himself forty-eight exceptions in his later writings, it is reasonable to grant that he may have departed from his strict rule at least four times in his youthful productions. Furthermore, it seems likely that an imitator of Ovid — supposing that the double letters are the work of an imitator — would have noticed the poet's usual avoidance of the longer endings, and would himself have refrained altogether from their use.

5. In *Her.* 18, 121,

hoc quoque si credis: ad te via prona videtur,

the short final syllable of *credis* has the value of a long syllable under the ictus before a vowel, with the caesura intervening. Lachmann² condemns this usage, maintaining that such 'lengthening', except in the case of *-que*, occurs only before *et*, *aut*, or a Greek word. This law

¹ *Fast.* 5, 582; 6, 660; *Ibis* 520; *Trist.* 1, 3, 6; 1, 4, 20; 1, 10, 34; 2, 212; 2, 232; 2, 294; 2, 416; 2, 430; 2, 514; 3, 5, 40; 3, 9, 2; 3, 10, 4; 4, 5, 24; 4, 10, 2; 5, 6, 30; *Epist. ex Pont.* 1, 2, 70; 1, 8, 40; 2, 2, 6; 2, 2, 72; 2, 2, 78; 2, 3, 18; 2, 5, 26; 2, 9, 20; 2, 9, 42; 3, 1, 166; 3, 4, 40; 3, 6, 46; 4, 2, 10; 4, 3, 12; 4, 3, 54; 4, 5, 24; 4, 6, 6; 4, 6, 14; 4, 8, 62; 4, 9, 48; 4, 9, 80; 4, 13, 28; 4, 13, 44; 4, 13, 46; 4, 14, 4; 4, 14, 18; 4, 14, 54; 4, 15, 26. The following are rejected by Merkel-Ehwald: *Ibis* 508; *Epist. ex Pont.* 1, 1, 66; 4, 9, 26.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

is indeed observed in *Fast.* 3, 105; *Met.* 2, 247; 3, 184; 6, 658; 7, 61; 7, 365; 10, 98; 12, 392; 14, 250¹; but in *Her.* 9, 141 we find *semivir occubuit in letifero Eueno.*

This verse is also condemned by Lachmann, but the two examples support each other, and there seems to be no reason why lengthening should not occur before *ad* or *in* as well as before *et* or *aut.*²

6. In another of his works³ Lachmann announced as a law that Greek nouns whose dative ends in *-ει*, when employed in Latin poetry, always form their ablative in *-ē* or *-ī*, e. g., *Hippomenē* (*Met.* 10, 608), *Achillē* (*Epist. ex Pont.* 3, 3, 43), except that *Diomedē*, *Ganymede*, and *Lycomedē* are always found with a *short* final vowel. This rule, however, is not sustained by the facts, for Horace⁴ and Propertius⁵ use *Achillē*, while *Polynicē* appears in Statius.⁶ We find, therefore, no just ground for suspecting *Ulixē* in Ovid (*Her.* 19, 148), even though it is the only instance in his works of a violation of Lachmann's dictum.⁷

7. A further criticism of Lachmann's⁸ is directed against the use of *qui* with the meaning of *quomodo* in *Her.* 17, 213. In this sense *qui* does not occur elsewhere in Ovid, but it is found in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Persius, while Horace, whom Ovid imitated,⁹ employs it thus sixteen times.

These are the chief of Lachmann's criticisms, and we may now notice some points of metrical technic to which Eschenburg has called attention.

8. In *Her.* 19, 29,

utque rogem de te et scribam tibi, si quis Abydo,

a long syllable is elided in the third thesis. Such an elision does not

¹ Cf. Eschenburg, *Metr. Untersuch.*, p. 10, n. 8; p. 11, n. 18.

² Cf. Müller, in *Rhein. Mus.* XVIII (1863), p. 88 f.; Riese, in *Jahresb.* III (1874-5), p. 235; Purser, in Palmer, *Ovidi Her.*², p. xxx.

³ In *Lucretium Commentarius*, Berol., 1866,³ p. 49.

⁴ Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 193.

⁵ Prop. 4, 11, 40.

⁶ Stat. *Theb.* 12, 348.

⁷ Cf. Leyhausen, *Helena et Herus Epistulae*, etc., p. 13.

⁸ *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 59.

⁹ Cf. Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern*, etc., Innsbruck, 1869-71, III.

occur elsewhere in the *Heroides* or indeed in any of Ovid's *carmina amatoria*, but it is allowed in his later works, e. g. *Fast. 3*, 585; *Epist. ex Pont. 4*, 3, 33; and in the *Metamorphoses* twelve or thirteen times.¹

9. When a hexameter verse concludes with two monosyllables, the preceding dactyl of the fifth foot consists regularly of a single word or of the last three syllables of a word.² This rule is not observed in *Her. 20*, 91, . . . *et mea, cum sit*,³ but *Her. 12*, 25 furnishes another instance . . . *nupta quod hic sit*, and Eschenburg⁴ himself cites sixteen other examples from Ovid, ten from the *Metamorphoses*, one from the *Fasti*, three from the *Tristia*, and two from the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. To some of these instances, as *Her. 20*, 91, the principle of the word-group should doubtless be applied.⁵

There remain certain peculiarities, apparently not Ovidian, discussed in the dissertation of Otto Braum, *De monosyllabis ante caesuras hexametri latini collocatis*, Marburg, 1906.

10. Braum's examination of the frequency with which a monosyllable precedes the penthemimeral caesura leads him (p. 40) to accept as genuine the single *Heroides*, including the epistle of Sappho, but to reject the double letters. In the *Heroides Ovidianae*, viz., 1, 2, 4-7, 10, 11, a monosyllable appears before this caesura once in $22\frac{2}{5}$ verses, in *Her. 15*, 16 (= 16, 17) once in $12\frac{1}{7}$, in *Her. 17*, 18 (= 18, 19) once in $15\frac{7}{8}$, in *Her. 19*, 20 (= 20, 21) once in $16\frac{1}{2}$ (p. 39); i. e., we find a difference of about 11, 7, and 7 respectively between the surely genuine *Heroides* and the three pairs of double letters. However, we may note (p. 38) that there is a difference of more than 7 between books 1 and 2 of the *Met.* (1 in $27\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 in $19\frac{4}{5}$), while between books 2 and 4 of the *Tristia* (p. 44) there is a difference of almost 14 (1 in $30\frac{4}{5}$, and 1 in $16\frac{17}{20}$). Again, in the case of Manilius (p. 36) there is a difference of 23 between books 2 and 5, and Propertius (p. 34) shows a difference of nearly 37 between books 3 and 5. These facts — which need further consideration with reference to word-

¹ Cf. Eschenburg, *Metr. Untersuch.*, pp. 4 and 14. The reading in *Met. 12*, 133 is disputed; cf. Riese, in *Jahresb. III* (1874-5), p. 234.

² Cf. L. Müller, *Catullus*, Lipsiae, 1870, Praef., p. lxvii.

³ Cf. Eschenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵ See A. G. Harkness in *Class. Phil. II* (1907), pp. 51 ff.; *III* (1908), pp. 39 ff.

groups before statistics can be compiled—are surely sufficient to invalidate any argument based upon the much smaller variation between the genuine and the double letters of the *Heroides*.

Furthermore, it is to be observed that Braum's table on p. 75, dealing with the lines in which two closely connected monosyllables appear before the caesura, shows an extraordinary agreement among Ovid's various works; and it is equally worthy of note that the double letters have no examples of *ac* or *atque* (with *-e* elided) in the third thesis (pp. 84, 85), thus agreeing with the single letters, the *Amores*, the *Fasti*, the *Tristia*, and the *Epistulae ex Ponte*, and that the double letters as well as the genuine *Heroides* show no instance of a monosyllabic preposition in this position in the verse (p. 88).

11. As regards the trithemimeral caesura, Ovid usually avoids beginning a line with a spondaic or dactylic word followed by a monosyllable immediately before the caesura. Such lines are not found in *Amor.* 1 and 3, *Fast.* 3, *Trist.* 1-5, *Epist. ex Pont.* 1, while examples from the remaining books are rare (Braum, pp. 103, 104). The double letters afford one instance of a spondaic word in the first foot followed by a monosyllable, *dicam nunc* (*Her.* 21, 55) which has been variously emended, but is supported by *illi me* of *Epist. ex Pont.* 4, 9, 99 and by *postquam se* of *Her.* 15, 113. No example appears in the double letters of a dactylic word in the first foot before a monosyllable, and *tutius est* (*Her.* 3, 117), which appears in a letter once rejected but now considered genuine and is found also in *Amor.* 2, 11, 31, affords an illustration of the danger of laying too much stress upon a very few instances of a peculiarity, as in *dicam nunc*, etc., above, or in the rare use of a dissyllable ending a pentameter line. The results of Braum's studies, therefore, do not seem to justify his conclusion that *Her.* 16-21 are spurious.

Our examination of the objections brought against the language and metre of the double letters of the *Heroides* may now be summed up as follows: some of the condemned usages¹ we have found supported by examples from Ovid's youthful and later works, others² have parallels only in the verse of his mature years, while still others stand alone³ or with only one similar instance⁴ in Ovid, but are found in other writers.

¹ Cf. under 1, 3, 9, 10, and 11.

² Cf. under 2, 4, and 8.

³ Cf. under 6 and 7.

⁴ Cf. under 5.

This evidence surely is not sufficient to establish the spuriousness of *Heroides* 16-21. If we are to reject letters 9 and 18 because of the 'lengthening' in *occubuit* and *credis*, we are justified in concluding that *Met. 6* and *Amor. 3, 6* are not by Ovid, for they contain the only lines (*Met. 6, 524*; *Amor. 3, 6, 101*) in which Ovid elides a dactylic word in the fifth foot.¹ If the *Metamorphoses* had chanced not to be preserved, would not the poet's critics unhesitatingly reject *Amor. 3, 6*? The verse-ending *inaequeles autumnos* of *Met. 1, 117* is unique in Ovid: shall we therefore consider the passage spurious?

In his work entitled, *Wie hat Ovid einzelne Wörter und Wortklassen im Verse verwandt?* Eschenburg subjects Ovid's works to a very minute examination; selecting certain expressions and classes of words which recur often, such as *ei mihi*, *certe ego*, nouns in *-men*, adjectives in *-bilis*, etc., he applies these tests, over twenty in number, to the *Heroides*. Without reporting the details of his results, we may quote his summary: "Fassen wir nunmehr das Gesagte kurz zusammen, so finden wir nur in zwei Fällen² eine wesentliche Abweichung zwischen den sicher echten Gedichten und den zweifelhaften Heroiden. * * * Bei einer so auffallenden Übereinstimmung zwischen der Technik Ovids und der zweifelhaften Heroiden bin ich in meiner früheren Meinung, die angezweifelten Heroiden seien nicht von Ovid geschrieben, sehr wankend geworden, und neige ich mich jetzt entschieden der von Riese mit andern Gründen gestützten Ansicht zu, dass Ovid die uns erhaltenen Heroiden zu verschiedenen Zeiten verfasst habe, in einer früheren Periode die acht sicher echten, in einer späteren die übrigen."³ Without discussing the justice of this opinion concerning the date of the double letters, to which I shall return hereafter, we may note that Eschenburg's investigation confirms the view that the double letters deviate no more than Ovid's other works from his normal standard. As additional confirmation of this opinion we may cite the fact that

¹ Cf. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestiones*, in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, XIV, p. 329.

² *Ei mihi* is found once (*Her. 17, 246*) out of its usual position, the first place in the verse; and *certe ego* occurs once (*Her. 20, 178*) at the beginning of the second half of the pentameter, an exceptional position.

³ Eschenburg, *Wie hat Ovid*, etc., pp. 34 and 39.

studies of Ovid's syntax¹ fail to show any important differences between the double *Heroides* and the rest of Ovid's verse.² We are then, it would seem, amply justified in concluding that *Heroides* 16-21 contain practically nothing in thought, language, or metre to warrant their rejection as spurious.

II

A COMPARISON OF THE METRE OF HEROIDES 16-21 WITH
THAT OF OVID'S OTHER WORKS

Having shown, as I hope, in the preceding chapter that the double letters contain nothing to support the view that they are spurious, I shall now try to prove that in important matters of metrical technic they agree with Ovid's accepted works. Before treating the most significant of these peculiarities — the poet's use of dactyls and spondees — it will be well to clear the ground by examining certain minor tests. As we have seen, Ovid regularly concludes his pentameter lines with words of two syllables having the metrical value *u-* or *uu*, and thus limits himself considerably in the number of words available for this place in the verse. It has seemed worth while to tabulate for purposes of comparison the facts concerning the poet's choice of words for this position. Many words occur too rarely to be of any value as tests, while others appear with greater or less frequency according to the nature of the subject matter, e. g., *amor*, *amat*, etc., are found much more frequently in the love-poems than elsewhere, and *dies* shows a much greater percentage in the *Fasti*. Furthermore, it is evident that such a test cannot furnish a positive proof in a question of genuineness, for "verse-tags" are very easily retained by the memory and would be used by any imitator. However, a close agreement between the *Heroides* and the poet's surely genuine works will prove a good negative argument in favor of the Ovidian authorship of the letters. I have included in the following table only such dissyllabic words as occur most frequently and are of a colorless nature, since these alone can offer a stable basis of comparison. The figures given indicate the percentage of pentameter lines in each work which end in the words chosen as tests.

¹ Cf. Hau, *De casuum usu Ovidiano*, Monasterii, 1884; Tolkiehn, *Quaest. ad Her. Ovid.*, etc., pp. 104-8.

² Cf. Piéri, *Quaest. ad P. Ovidii Nasonis Epist.*, etc., p. 60.

TABLE I.—CERTAIN DISSYLLABIC PENTAMETER ENDINGS

Works	Amor.	Her. 1-15	Her. 16-21	A. A.	Rem.	Fast.	Trist.	Ex Pont.
Dissyllabic forms of <i>do</i>	1.9%	1.6%	1.5%	1.6%	2.4%	2.2%	1.3%	1.5%
Dissyllabic forms of <i>habeo</i>	2.2	2.9	2.6	4.3	2.2	3.7	3.0	3.0
Dissyllabic forms of <i>sum</i> (imp. and fut.)	6.1	8.6	5.7	6.6	11.3	8.2	6.0	4.1
Dissyllabic forms of <i>sum</i> (perf.)	1.6	2.9	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.8	1.8
Aphaeresis of <i>est</i> after dissyllabic words	.8	1.9	2.3	1.6	2.9	1.7	2.8	1.9

It is apparent from these figures that there is less variation in every case between *Her. 1-15* and *Her. 16-21* than between works which are universally considered genuine, and that the total latitude of variation is slight, which is in itself a strong presumption in favor of a common author.

In his article entitled, *Animadversiones ad Ovidii Heroidum Epistles*,¹ Birt examines, among other points, Ovid's use of the caesura, which he discusses under the following three types:

- I. *Respondit Iuno | Saturnia sancta dearum,*
- II. *Expectans | si mussaret | quae denique pauca,*
- III. *Ingenium | cum nulla | malum | sententia suadet,*

i. e., penthemimeral (I), trithemimeral with hephthemerimal (II), and trithemimeral with hephthemerimal and a caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* (III). Type II occurs in the *Heroides* once only (2, 37). In his treatment of Type I Birt divides the hexameter lines illustrating it into four classes: (1) those with a dactyl in the first foot, (2) those with a spondee in the first foot, (3) those with a dactyl in the fourth foot, and (4) those with a spondee in the fourth foot. This method, however, seems artificial, for the caesura and the character of the first or fourth foot have no logical interrelation and each can be more advantageously studied by itself. It has therefore seemed best, since the composition of the hexameter is to be discussed hereafter, and since Type I is the

¹ *Rhein. Mus.* XXXII (1877), pp. 386 ff.

most common form of caesura in all Latin poets and consequently less characteristic, to confine our study to Type III, as being rarer and expressing more plainly the poet's individual preference. With the exception of *Met.* 1-3, the works of Ovid for which Birt¹ and Eschenburg² give statistics have been re-examined; and these figures, with some additions, constitute the following table.

TABLE II.—CAESURA, BIRT'S TYPE III

	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Book 5	Book 6	Aver.
<i>Amor.</i>	8.2%	7.2	7.0	..	..	..	7.5
<i>Her. 1-15</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	9.0
<i>Her. 16-21</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.5
<i>A. A.</i>	9.7	14.0	8.6	..	..	..	10.8
<i>Rem.</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.4
<i>Fast.</i>	5.8	7.1	6.9	8.1	7.1	11.6	7.8
<i>Trist.</i>	4.3	5.3	4.1	3.9	..	..	4.4
<i>Ex Pont.</i>	3.5	4.0	3.3	5.5	..	..	4.1
<i>Met.</i>	{ Bk. 1-3 10.0	Bk. 14 9.4	Bk. 15 13.0	..	..	..	10.5

These statistics show a surprising divergence in different books of the same work, e. g., *Fast.* 1, 5.8%, *Fast.* 6, 11.6%. Furthermore, *Her. 16-21* (3.5%) are seen not to agree at all with *Her. 1-15* (9.0%), but rather with the *Tristia* (4.4%) and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (4.1%), a phenomenon which will call for notice later.

Eschenburg³ adds to Birt's treatment of the caesura an enumeration of lines in which there is a pause κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον, as in

Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla | iugalia curae,

and gives the statistics for the *Heroines* considered genuine by Lachmann, the *Amores*, and the *Ars Amatoria*. These figures have been verified, and the count has been extended to cover the same works as Table II. The following table gives the results.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 390; *Ad historiam hexametri Latini symbola*, Bonnae, 1876, p. 54.

² *Metr. Untersuch.*, pp. 12 and 19.

³ *L. l.*

TABLE III.—CAESURA κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον

	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4	Book 5	Book 6	Aver.
<i>Amor.</i>	4.6	6.7	5.8	..	..	..	5.7
<i>Her. 1-15</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.1
<i>Her. 16-21</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	5.4
<i>A. A.</i>	5.7	6.5	4.4	..	..	..	5.5
<i>Rem.</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.5
<i>Fast.</i>	7.2	5.9	7.6	5.5	6.9	8.5	6.9
<i>Trist.</i>	3.2	5.3	5.1	4.7	..	..	4.6
<i>Ex Pont.</i>	7.0	5.1	5.3	4.8	..	..	5.6
<i>Met.</i> {	..	Bk. 14	Bk. 15	..	..	..	..
	8.8	7.3	5.4	..	..	..	7.2

In this case, with the exception of the *Remedia*, there is rather close agreement between the poet's several works and less divergence among the several books of the same work.

Our studies of Ovid's metre thus far can be said to have yielded only negative results; the double letters of the *Heroides* have been found to present no special peculiarities, but nothing has been discovered to prove an Ovidian authorship. A test must be sought which will show a positive resemblance between *Her. 16-21* and the poet's other works, and such a test will be found in the composition of the verse; for, while a careful imitator who was thoroughly familiar with the work of his model might succeed in reproducing the beginning and endings of verses, the favorite expressions, and perhaps even the caesuras of the original, it is extremely unlikely that he would so arrange dactyls and spondees either unconsciously or by intent as to produce the same results, measured by exact statistics, which appear in his pattern. This will appear more plainly as we proceed.

The beginning of a minute and scientific study of the Greek and the Latin hexameter was made by Drobisch in his treatise entitled *Ein statistischer Versuch über die Formen des lateinischen Hexameters*.¹ Since the fifth foot of the hexameter is usually a dactyl and the sixth foot always contains two syllables, forming either a trochee or a spon-

¹ In the *Berichte über die Verhandl. der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1866.

dee, Drobisch disregards this portion of the verse and considers only the first four feet. The rare verses with a spondaic fifth foot he excludes from this portion of his treatment. In the first four feet sixteen different arrangements of dactyls and spondees are possible. These, with illustrations from Ovid, chosen by Hultgren,¹ are given below, *d* representing 'dactyl' and *s* 'spondee.'

1. *dsss* : *Conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit.*
2. *dsds* : *Disce bonas artes, moneo, Romana iuventus.*
3. *dssd* : *Pectoribus mores tot sunt quot in urbe figurae.*
4. *dsdd* : *Tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis.*
5. *ddss* : *Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lapsis.*
6. *ddds* : *Mitius ille perit subita qui mergitur unda.*
7. *ddsd* : *Gutta cavat lapidem : consumitum annulus usu.*
8. *dddd* : *Omnia deficiunt, animus tamen omnia vincit.*
9. *sdss* : *Curando fieri quaedam maiora videmus.*
10. *sdds* : *Non hic pampineis amicitur vitibus ulmus.*
11. *sdsd* : *Cur sit virgineis, quaeris, dea culta ministris?*
12. *sddd* : *Scribentem iuvat ipse favor minuitque laborem.*
13. *ssss* : *Iurabant omnes in laesi iura mariti.*
14. *ssds* : *Ut desint vires tamen est laudanda voluntas.*
15. *sssd* : *Quid cessas currum pomparamque parare triumphis?*
16. *ssdd* : *Pro Troia, Romane, tua Venus arma ferebat.*

With this scheme as a basis, Drobisch examines about five hundred hexameter lines from each of the following Latin poets: Ennius, Cicero, Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Manilius, Persius, Juvenal, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Claudian; and in his tables gives the various forms of verse in the order of frequency, with the percentage for each. From these figures he derives the percentage of dactyls and spondees occurring in each of the first four feet. A further classification divides the lines into (1) *balanced* hexameters, in which two of the first four feet are dactyls and two spondees; (2) *dactylic* hexameters, which contain three or four dactyls in the first four feet; and (3) *spondaic* hexameters, in which spondees predomi-

¹ *Observationes metricae in poetas elegiacos*, Lipsiae, Program des Nicolai gymnasium, 1871-2, I, p. 4.

nate. According to this classification the sixteen forms of verse are subdivided as follows :

Balanced hexameters	Dactylic hexameters	Spondaic hexameters
dlds	dsdd	dsss
dssd	ddds	sdss
ddss	ddsd	ssss
sdds	dddd	ssds
sdsd	sddd	sssd
ssdd		

Drobisch had confined his studies to the Latin poets who use continuous hexameters, but Hultgren in his *Observationes metricae in poetas elegiacos* extends the same method to include all the hexameter and pentameter lines of the chief elegiac poets, both Greek and Latin. Because of the constant character of the second half of the pentameter, only the first half calls for consideration, and here only four variations of dactyl and spondee are possible : *dd, ds, sd, ss*. Hultgren also indicates in his tables the number and percentage of dactylic and spondaic first feet in both hexameter and pentameter, and the number and percentage of words of one, two, three, etc., syllables used to conclude the lines. To answer any objection which may arise later because of a comparison of the epic with the elegiac hexameter, we may here quote Hultgren's¹ conclusion after a study and comparison of the two : *Hexameter epicus Latinorum, excepto bisyllabo fine praeponderante, fere nihil distat ab hexametro elegiaco*. Furthermore, since the second half of the pentameter always contains two dactyls, there can be no *spondaic* pentameter, but only (1) the *balanced*, in which the first two feet are spondees, and (2) the *dactylic*, in which one or both of these are dactyls. Putting this in tabular form, we have :

Balanced pentameter	Dactylic pentameters
ss	ds
	sd
	dd

From the investigations of these scholars² one thing in particular is

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 3.

² Further studies by Drobisch and Hultgren, of less immediate interest to our purpose, are found in the *Berichte über die Verhandl. der königl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, vols. XXIII (1871), XXIV (1872), XXV (1873), XXVII (1875).

apparent: each poet has his own favorite ways of arranging dactyls and spondees in the line, and no two poets exhibit the same preferences, although a general similarity may sometimes be discerned; e. g. Lucretius, Horace, Manilius, Persius, Juvenal, and Lucan may all be grouped with Virgil as forming a type by themselves. To take the case of Ovid as compared with the other fourteen poets whose use of the epic hexameter has been treated by Drobisch, a study of the tables prepared by that scholar¹ shows that Ovid is sharply distinguished from all the rest by four peculiarities: (1) he uses a larger proportion of dactyls in the first four feet than any of the other Latin poets who employ the same metre; (2) he surpasses them all in the number of 'dactylic' lines, i. e., those in which dactyls predominate;² (3) his works exhibit a larger proportion of lines which begin with a dactyl, and this preference is carried so far that (4) *all* the eight forms of verse beginning with a dactyl are in his poetry more common than *any* of the eight with a spondee in the first place, a phenomenon which is found nowhere else. The first of these characteristics is best seen by referring to Drobisch's table,³ which I here present with his figures subtracted from 100% in order to show the percentage of dactyls instead of spondees.

TOTAL NUMBER OF DACTYLS

Ovid	54.8%	Virgil, <i>Georg.</i>	44.3%
Valerius Flaccus . . .	53.3	Virgil, <i>Aen.</i>	43.6
Statius	49.4	Lucretius	42.6
Lucan	45.7	Manilius	41.1
Horace	45.0	Ennius	40.5
Claudian	44.9	Silius Italicus	39.4
Persius	44.8	Cicero	36.8
Juvenal	44.4	Catullus	34.2

It is evident from these statistics that Ovid not only surpasses all others in his fondness for the dactyl, but is the only poet except Valerius Flaccus, his imitator, who uses more than 50% dactyls. Of his predecessors, Horace stands nearest to him, and still is 9% away.

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, XVIII (1866), pp. 130, 135-7.

² Cf. pp. 136, 137.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

That Ovid's verse is also conspicuous for its large number of 'dactylic' lines is shown by another of Drobisch's tables.¹

DACTYLIC VERSES

Ovid	35.7%	Virgil, <i>Georg.</i>	19.3%
Valerius Flaccus . . .	31.6	Lucan	18.75
Statius	28.8	Lucretius	18.4
Horace	21.2	Manilius	16.2
Ennius	21.2	Silius Italicus	15.0
Iuvenal	20.5	Claudian	14.5
Persius	19.9	Cicero	12.5
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i>	19.9	Catullus	7.2

A comparison of these two tables yields some interesting results, and for convenience of reference they are here repeated and arranged in parallel columns.

TOTAL NUMBER OF DACTYLS

1. Ovid	54.8%
2. Valerius Flaccus . . .	53.3
3. Statius	49.4
4. Lucan	45.7
5. Horace	45.0
6. Claudian	44.9
7. Persius	44.8
8. Iuvenal	44.4
9. Virgil, <i>Georg.</i>	44.3
10. Virgil, <i>Aen.</i>	43.6
11. Lucretius	42.6
12. Manilius	41.1
13. Ennius	40.5
14. Silius Italicus	39.4
15. Cicero	36.8
16. Catullus	34.2

DACTYLIC VERSES

Ovid	35.7%
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Iuvenal	20.5
Persius	19.9
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i>	19.9
Virgil, <i>Georg.</i>	19.3
Lucan	18.75
Lucretius	18.4
Manilius	16.2
Silius Italicus	15.0
Claudian	14.5
Cicero	12.5
Catullus	7.2

The cases of Lucan, Claudian, and Ennius are especially worthy of note, for while the two former rank fourth and sixth in the total number of dactyls employed, they occupy only the tenth and fourteenth places in the number of 'dactylic' verses; but Ennius ranks thirteenth in the first table and fifth in the second. In this is manifest Ennius' artistic gift, since he understands how to give variety and color to his ordinarily slow and heavy verse by employing a considerable number of lines

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

where dactyls predominate. Lucan and Claudian, on the other hand, although they use many more dactyls than Ennius, distribute them evenly through their verse, have a small proportion of 'dactylic' verses, and hence lack the variety of Ennius. It is plain, therefore, that it does not follow that because Ovid uses the greatest percentage of dactyls he will also stand first in the number of 'dactylic' verses. His holding first rank in this regard is then a further distinguishing mark of his metre.

This decided preference of Ovid for the dactyl appears especially in the first and fourth feet, the beginnings of the two halves of the hexameter. In the first foot he uses a dactyl in 83.2% of his lines, while in the fourth foot, which is commonly a favorite place for spondees, we find the percentage of spondees only 52.7. All the other poets in Drobisch's list, with the exception of Valerius Flaccus, employ the dactyl in the first foot in less than 70% of the total number of lines (Flaccus shows 80%, due again to his imitation of Ovid); and all the others, without exception, use more than 63% of spondees in the fourth foot, which is 10% more than the proportion used by Ovid. The complete statistics are found in Drobisch's tables,¹ and a reference to them will show that Ovid's fondness for the dactyl in the first foot is so great that, as already stated, all the eight most common forms of the sixteen possible arrangements of dactyls and spondees in the hexameter begin in Ovid's verse with a dactyl. This phenomenon is peculiar to Ovid, and forms the fourth distinguishing mark of his metrical technic.

If Tibullus and Propertius had, like Catullus, written epic hexameters, it would be unnecessary to speak separately of the elegiac hexameter, since it presents practically no peculiarity. However, to consider it briefly, Hultgren's tables VII, X, XIII, XV, and XVII² show that neither Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, nor the Lygdamus poems, but Ovid alone, in his elegiac as in his epic hexameter, exhibits a dactylic beginning in all the eight most common forms of verse. His pre-eminence over the other elegiac poets in the number of dactyls employed, the number of dactylic verses, and the percentage of lines

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

² *Observ. metr.*; for Lygdamus cf. Plessis, *Traité de métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, 1889, pp. 283-6.

beginning with a dactyl may be seen from the following table,¹ where the extreme figures for the several works of each poet are given, e. g., 34%—38.9%.

TABLE IV.—HEXAMETER OF THE ELEGIAC POETS

	Total Number of Dactyls	Dactylic Verses	Verses Beginning with a Dactyl
Catullus	34.0—38.9%	8.6—12.2%	57.0—65.4%
Tibullus 1 and 2* . . .	44.9—48.7	20.1—24.3	70.4—78.7
Propertius	40.3—45.5	14.9—20.9	56.8—71.9
Lygdamus	40.1	17.1	56.7
Ovid	52.5—56.4	24.0—41.5	70.0—89.1

* Book 3 is excluded as spurious. The figures are: Total number of dactyls, 39.3%; dactylic verses, 15.9%; verses beginning with a dactyl, 55.9%.

It now remains to speak briefly of Hultgren's studies in the pentameter of the elegiac poets. The four possible arrangements of dactyl and spondee in the first half of the verse are: *dd, ds, sd, ss*. The order of frequency of occurrence in the several poets is as follows:² in Catullus, *ds, ss, dd, sd*; in Tibullus, *ds, dd, ss, sd*; in Propertius, *ds, dd, sd, ss*; in Lygdamus, *ds, ss, dd, sd*; in some of Ovid's works, *ds, dd, sd, ss*, in others, *ds, dd, ss, sd*. The following table contains the statistics for the total number of dactyls, the number of dactylic verses, and the number of verses beginning with a dactyl.³

TABLE V.—PENTAMETER OF THE ELEGIAC POETS

	Total Number of Dactyls	Dactylic Verses	Verses Beginning with a Dactyl
Catullus	32.0—41.3%	54.7—71.3%	37.1—55.0%
Tibullus 1 and 2* . . .	54.8—55.3	89.1—90.5	79.8—85.1
Propertius	52.2—57.9	82.5—92.1	66.7—79.3
Lygdamus	44.8	73.9	59.5
Ovid	54.0—60.8	84.3—92.1	73.4—81.8

* The figures for Book 3 are: Total number of dactyls, 49.7%; dactylic verses, 84.0%; verses beginning with a dactyl, 58.5%.

¹ Cf. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, Tab. VIII, XI, XIII, XVII; Plessis, *l. l.*

² Hultgren, *op. cit.*, Tab. IX, XII, XIV, XIX; Plessis, *l. l.*

³ Hultgren, *l. l.*; Plessis, *l. l.*

In the order of the various forms of verse Ovid, as has already been seen, presents no distinguishing mark, and this indeed is scarcely to be expected where the latitude for variation is so slight; but in the pentameter as in the hexameter there appears the same preference for the dactyl, especially in the first place in the verse.¹ In this particular, however, Tibullus surpasses Ovid; and, furthermore, owing to the fact that the various works of the same poet differ widely and that some of the percentages for other of the elegiac writers closely approximate the figures for Ovid's verse, it is unsafe to draw any decided conclusions from the statistics for the pentameter. It is in the manipulation of the hexameter, as we have seen, that the poet's individuality is chiefly displayed; and while our investigation of *Heroines* 16-21 will cover both pentameter and hexameter, the latter must be the principal instrument in an endeavor to test the Ovidian character of the metre of the double letters.²

Having completed our rather lengthy survey of the distinguishing characteristics of Ovid's metrical technic, let us now turn to the poems which are the special subject of our study, to discover whether or not these characteristics are present in them. In his treatment of the *Heroines* Hultgren divides them into two classes, those considered genuine (1-13, 18, 21) and those considered spurious (14-17, 19, 20) by L. Müller,³ and his figures are consequently of no assistance to one who is dealing with the double letters as a group. I have, therefore, collected the facts for each of the twenty-one letters and, for purposes of comparison, for the elegy on the death of Tibullus (*Amor.* 3, 9). The text used is that of Sedlmayer, and all doubted or defective distichs have been excluded from the count. I will not present here the statistics for all the separate letters, but remark merely that some of them seem at variance with what we have previously found to be a

¹ Cf. Hilberg, *Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid*, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 657 ff.

² The process of lightening both hexameter and pentameter—but especially the pentameter—begins with Tibullus; Propertius follows his lead, though lagging somewhat behind; while Ovid closely approximates Tibullus's usage in the pentameter, and surpasses it in the hexameter. This ability to write rapid verse, acquired in his early period, Ovid applies to continuous hexameters in the *Metamorphoses*.

³ *De re metr.*, pp. 46 ff.

characteristic of Ovid, for forms with a spondaic beginning appear among the eight most frequent types of the hexanmeter. These exceptions occur in both the genuine and the doubted *Heroides*,¹ and, moreover, this increase in the number of spondees is not found in some of the poems of a grave or serious nature, such as *Her.* 2, 11, 20, 21 and *Amor.* 3, 9, as one would naturally expect. Before proceeding further, therefore, it will be well to estimate how far, if it all, Ovid's metrical technic is influenced by the nature of his subject. For this purpose I have chosen poems whose theme is serious (*Her.* 11, 20, 21) or sad (*Amor.* 3, 9, the elegy on the death of Tibullus) for comparison with others of a light or satirical character (*Her.* 6, 16, 17 and *A. A.*).² In the following table are given the statistics for the total number of dactyls, the dactylic verses, and verses with dactylic beginning in both hexameter and pentameter.

TABLE VI.

	Hexameter			Pentameter		
	Total Number of Dactyls	Dactylic Verses	Verses Beginning with a Dactyl	Total Number of Dactyls	Dactylic Verses	Verses Beginning with a Dactyl
<i>Her.</i> 11 . . .	58.1%	41.9%	91.9%	65.3%	93.6%	83.9%
<i>Her.</i> 20 . . .	52.9	36.6	83.4	52.1	85.8	71.6
<i>Her.</i> 21 . . .	51.1	24.9	79.8	53.2	84.7	74.2
<i>Amor.</i> 3, 9 . . .	56.6	38.2	88.2	57.4	88.2	82.4
<i>Her.</i> 6 . . .	60.2	47.4	83.6	63.7	96.2	93.7
<i>Her.</i> 16 . . .	52.2	25.4	91.9	56.8	84.9	80.0
<i>Her.</i> 17 . . .	53.9	35.4	82.7	53.8	82.7	66.9
<i>A. A.</i> . . .	55.0	36.3	82.9	60.5	91.1	81.7

In almost every case the first group is found to equal the second in the proportion of dactyls employed, and in several instances the more serious poems are more dactylic in character than those of lighter tone.

¹ *Her.* 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21.

² Cf. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, Tab. XVIII, XIX. The strong resemblance in tone between these *Heroides* and the *Ars Amatoria* may be seen by a comparison of the following passages: *Her.* 16, 201-11 and *A. A.* 2, 367-72; *Her.* 18, 88 and *A. A.* 1, 571; *Her.* 17, 191 and *A. A.* 3, 435.

From these rather surprising facts we must conclude that Ovid's large use of the dactyl is prompted by a desire to give his verse rapidity, a quality in which he surpasses all other Latin poets, and that he does not appreciably vary his method in describing widely different emotions. While this conclusion places Ovid on a distinctly lower level than an artist in metre like Virgil, it demonstrates a uniformity in his verse which is of great value when different portions of his work are to be compared. It is now evident that the presence in certain *Heroides* of forms with a spondee in the first foot among the eight most frequent types is due to the small number of lines in each letter and not to the design of the poet; for where the number of verses is limited, some forms of the hexameter may not occur at all, and a very few examples more or less will entirely change the sequence of the various forms, e. g., in *Her.* 8, where the number of verses is only 56, forms *ssdd*, *sssd*, *ssds*, *ssss* are not found at all, and form *sdsd* occurs six times, forms *ddss* and *dsds* five times each, and forms *ddds*, *dsdd*, and *dsss* four times each, whereas if the numbers had chanced to be the reverse—four, five, and six times—the form *sdsd* would occupy the ninth place and no form with spondaic beginning would be found among the first eight. This difficulty arising from the brevity of the letters may be avoided and a more accurate representation of the facts obtained by combining several epistles, and such a method is justified by the comparative uniformity of Ovid's metre, which has been already demonstrated. I have therefore united *Her.* 1-15 to form one large section and *Her.* 16-21 to form another. The statistics for *Her.* 1-15 will appear later in Tables VIII and X, but a conspectus of the hexameter of the double letters is contained in the following table.¹

¹ It is not my purpose to discuss the text of *Her.* 16, 39-144 and *Her.* 21, 13-248. The manuscript authority is, to be sure, unsatisfactory, and scholars are divided on the question of the genuineness of these lines (cf. Sedlmayer, *Prolegomena critica ad Heroides Ovidianas*, Vindobonae, 1878, pp. 32 ff.); but since, as my figures have shown (cf. also Sedlmayer, *op. cit.*, p. 33), they present no metrical peculiarities, and inasmuch as verses 39-144 cannot be withdrawn from letter 16 without injury to the sense, and letter 21 is one of the best examples of Ovid's power of depicting woman's emotions, the lines in question have been included in the tables of the double letters.

TABLE VII.—HEXAMETER OF *Heroides* 16-21.

dssd	128	16.6%
dsss	122	15.8
ddss	100	12.9
ddsd	85	11.0
dsds	73	9.4
dsdd	64	8.3
dddd	47	6.1
ddds	46	5.9
sdsd	30	3.9
sdss	15	1.9
ssss	14	1.8
{ sdds	11	1.4
{ ssdd	11	1.4
{ sddd	9	1.2
{ ssdd	9	1.2
{ ssds	9	1.2
	773	100.0
Total No. of dact.	1659	53.7
Dactylic verses	251	32.5
First foot dact.	665	86.0
Fourth foot dact.	383	49.5

A comparison of these figures with the results of Drobisch's study of the epic poets¹ and Hultgren's study of the elegiac poets² shows that *Heroides* 16-21 agree with Ovid and with none other of these writers, whether epic or elegiac; for all the others use spondees much more often than does the author of *Heroides* 16-21, especially in the first foot, and show forms with a spondaic beginning even among the eight most frequent types. In the double letters, on the other hand, the first eight forms all begin with a dactyl, thus proving the correctness of my supposition that the apparent exceptions in the individual letters are due to the small number of lines. We therefore find in the hexameter of *Heroides* 16-21 the marks which were seen to be characteristic of Ovid's metrical technic.³ As it is possible to determine the extent of this agreement

¹ Cf. p. 139.² Cf. p. 141.³ Cf. p. 138.

only by a comparison of all the poet's works, I have gathered in Table VIII the results of our examination of *Heroides* 1-15 and *Heroides* 16-21 together with Hultgren's¹ figures for the rest of Ovid's elegiac verse and Drobisch's² statistics for *Met.* 1-3. Where their figures are for separate books I have given the average, and to facilitate comparison the forms of verse are arranged in the same order as in Table VII.

The order in which the various forms of verse appear differs somewhat in the several works, as was to be expected, and in the *De Medicamine Faciei* there are among the first eight types some with spondaic beginnings. This anomaly we may, however, at once explain as due to the shortness of the poem (50 distichs), as in the case of several of the individual *Heroides*, and it does not disprove Ovid's general usage. We should note the close agreement between the various works and especially the fact that the figures for the total number of dactyls, the dactylic verses, and the dactylic character of the first and fourth feet in the case of the double letters fall in every instance between the extreme limits found in works whose genuineness is never doubted. These characteristics, together with the dactylic beginning of the eight most frequent verse-forms, are the marks which have been found to distinguish Ovid from all other poets; they are all present in *Heroides* 16-21, and while it is perhaps conceivable that an imitator, either through knowledge of Ovid's works and a feeling for his style or by deliberate scrutiny of his own use of dactyls and spondees, could produce such agreement with the rest of Ovid's verse, this is a hypothesis which cannot deserve consideration unless other evidence, some unmistakable sign of spuriousness, drives us to it. While I shall have recourse to other arguments, it is upon this extraordinary agreement in the technic of the hexameter between *Heroides* 16-21 and Ovid's genuine works that I mainly rest my belief that the double letters cannot be the work of an imitator, but must have been written by Ovid himself.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the pentameter. Table IX gives the statistics for the double letters.

¹ *Observ. metr.*, Tab. XV, XVII.

² *Berichte der säch. Gesellschaft*, vol. XXV (1873), p. 23.

TABLE VIII.—HEXAMETER OF OVID'S WORKS

	<i>Amor.</i>	<i>Her. 1-15</i>	<i>Her. 16-31</i>	<i>A. A.</i>	<i>Rew.</i>	<i>Med. Fac.</i>	<i>Met. Fac.</i>	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Ex Post.</i>	<i>This</i>
ddssd	11.6%	13.8%	16.6%	11.9%	9.8%	12.0%	15.0%	17.0%	13.3%	14.3%	
ddss	13.4	11.0	15.8	12.9	16.0	12.0	13.4	16.2	13.0	15.8	13.1
ddss	12.9	9.0	12.9	12.2	13.8	12.0	13.4	12.3	12.4	13.4	10.3
ddsd	10.9	14.3	11.0	10.6	10.3	0	11.3	11.7	11.5	11.7	17.4
dsds	10.2	9.8	9.4	11.8	10.1	14.0	11.2	12.4	11.0	11.5	10.9
dsdd	6.5	8.5	8.3	7.6	6.9	6.0	7.0	9.9	8.0	7.0	7.2
dddd	6.4	7.4	6.1	6.3	6.6	10.0	4.9	5.3	5.6	4.7	4.7
ddds	7.2	7.9	5.9	9.7	8.4	4.0	9.4	7.4	8.8	8.1	7.2
sdsd	3.5	4.7	3.9	2.8	2.7	4.0	3.8	2.0	3.1	2.7	1.9
sds	4.4	2.7	1.9	3.0	5.6	10.0	4.3	2.9	3.8	2.9	3.4
sess	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.7	0.7	0	1.2	1.3	2.2	1.6	1.9
sddh	3.9	3.1	1.4	2.8	1.5	6.0	2.5	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.8
ssdd	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.5	4.0	1.0	0.8	0.6	1.4	0
sddd	1.4	1.7	1.2	2.2	2.4	4.0	1.9	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.2
ssed	1.9	1.7	1.2	1.3	1.7	0	1.3	0.8	0.6	1.7	2.8
ssds	3.4	1.6	1.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.4	0.9
Total No. of dact...	53.3	56.9	53.7	55.0	53.6	52.5	54.8	54.0	53.9	53.1	54.6
Dactylic verses . . .	32.5	39.9	32.5	36.3	41.5	24.0	34.5	33.9	33.2	32.5	37.7
First foot dact. . .	79.2	81.8	86.0	83.0	81.8	70.0	82.5	89.1	86.9	85.6	85.0
Fourth foot dact. . .	43.8	53.4	49.5	43.9	41.9	40.0	43.2	45.9	47.5	43.5	49.5

TABLE IX.—PENTAMETER OF *Heroides* 16-21

ds	397	51.4%
dd	191	24.7
ss	107	13.8
sd	78	10.1
	773	100.0
Total No. of dact.	857	55.4
Dactylic verses	666	86.2
First foot dact.	588	76.1

As we have previously observed,¹ Ovid differs less from the other elegiac poets in his use of the pentameter than in his use of the hexameter because they all vary considerably in different portions of their work; the above table, however, shows the same large use of the dactyl which has everywhere characterized Ovid's work. To facilitate a comparison of *Heroides* 16-21 with Ovid's other poems I have gathered in one table the statistics for all the pentameter lines, as was done in the case of the hexameter.²

TABLE X.—PENTAMETER OF OVID'S WORKS

	<i>Amor.</i>	<i>Her.</i> 1-15	<i>Her.</i> 16-21	<i>A.A.</i>	<i>Rem.</i>	<i>Med.</i> <i>Fac.</i>	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Ex.</i> <i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ibis</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
ds	51.5	49.2	51.4	51.7	50.6	56.0	53.4	48.2	49.7	40.2
dd	26.4	32.9	24.7	29.9	30.2	18.0	25.8	27.7	25.1	30.2
ss	11.3	7.2	13.8	8.9	8.6	10.0	11.3	12.5	14.2	10.3
sd	10.8	10.7	10.1	9.5	10.6	16.0	9.5	11.6	11.0	10.3
Total No. of dact.	57.5	62.9	55.4	60.5	60.8	54.0	57.3	57.6	55.5	60.0
Dactylic verses . .	88.7	92.8	86.2	91.1	91.4	90.0	88.7	87.6	85.5	89.7
First foot dact. . .	77.8	82.2	76.1	81.7	80.8	74.0	79.2	75.9	74.8	79.4

¹ Cf. p. 142.

² Cf. Hultgren, *Observ. metr.*, Tab. XIX; Drobisch, *Berichte der säch. Gesellschaft*, vol. XXIII (1871), pp. 29-32.

We should note here that the various works of Ovid differ less from each other than those of the other elegiac poets,¹ and that, as in the case of the hexameter, the figures for *Heroides* 16-21 fall in every case between the extreme limits found in genuine works. It is also worthy of observation that the order of verse-forms which appears in the double letters, i. e., *ds*, *dd*, *ss*, *sd*, is found in the poet's early works only in *Amores* 3,² but tends to become regular in his later writings.

We may now consider another point, already mentioned, in which Ovid's pentameter differs from that of the other elegiac poets, namely, his preference for concluding the line with words of two syllables. The following table gives a conspectus of the usage of the other poets and of the several works of Ovid.*

TABLE XI.—DISSYLLABIC PENTAMETER ENDINGS

Catullus		Tibullus*		Propertius		Ovid	
<i>carm. 65-7</i>	34.9%	Bk. 1	94.7%	Bk. 1	63.0%	<i>Amor.</i>	100.0%
<i>carm. 68</i>	52.5	Bk. 2	95.2	Bk. 2	88.1	<i>Her. 1-15</i>	100.0
<i>carm. 69-116</i>	37.1			Bk. 3	91.1	<i>Her. 16-21</i>	99.7
		* The figures for Bk. 3 are 94.5%.		Bk. 4	98.8	<i>A. A.</i>	100.0
				Bk. 5	98.8	<i>Rem.</i>	100.0
						<i>Med. Fac.</i>	100.0
						<i>Fast.</i>	99.9
						<i>Trist.</i>	99.6
						<i>Ex Pont.</i>	98.7
						<i>Ibis</i>	99.4

Here again Tibullus appears as an innovator, whose experiment of reducing the number of polysyllabic endings is taken up and developed

¹ Cf. Table V, p. 141.

² Cf. p. 154.

³ Cf. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, Tab. IX, XII, XIV, XIX.

by others. Propertius, to be sure, exhibits no very decided preference for the dissyllabic close until the later books, where he is under Ovid's influence¹; but Ovid goes to the length of excluding polysyllabic clausulae entirely in his early works,—if, for the moment, we leave *Heroides* 16–21 out of consideration,—while the exceptions in his later period are rare. This strictness of technic, however, deprives Ovid's pentameter of a desirable variety, and later poets who use the elegiac metre do not imitate his usage in this particular.² Therefore, for the purpose of testing the genuineness of the double letters, this peculiarity of Ovid is valuable, for it is probable that an imitator, observing this practice of his model, would have refrained altogether from the use of polysyllabic words, or, failing to observe it, would have used them more frequently than they appear in *Heroides* 16–21. In point of fact we find these letters agreeing with the usage of no other poet, but with Ovid's later verse. Our examination of the pentameter has, therefore, yielded rather more than was to be expected in the way of confirming the Ovidian authorship of the double letters, and strengthens the testimony of the hexameter.

To sum up the results of our study of Ovid's metre in its relation to the question of the genuineness of *Heroides* 16–21, we have found a surprising agreement between Ovid's surely genuine works in the following particulars: he uses (1) more dactyls and (2) more 'dactylic' verses than any other poet; he surpasses all other poets (3) in his use of dactyls in the first foot, so much so that (4) the eight most common forms of hexameter all begin with a dactyl. These characteristics, while displayed especially in the hexameter, are confirmed by the statistics for the pentameter. The double letters of the *Heroides* have all the marks which distinguish Ovid from other poets; and while we may still admit the possibility that an imitator, writing at a later date on the same subject as Ovid, should have caught his manner exactly, yet in the absence of any evidence making such a hypothesis necessary, the strong positive testimony of the metre to the genuineness of the

¹ Cf. Plessis, *Études critiques sur Properce et ses élégies*, Paris, 1884, p. 294.

² Cf. Plessis, *Métrique grecque et latine*, pp. 123 f., who gives the following figures for polysyllabic clausulae in the pentameter: Lygdamus, 1 in 18 verses; Martial, 1 in 12–13; Claudian, 1 in 19–20; Rutilius Namatianus, 1 in 11; Ausonius, 1 in 3–4.

disputed *Heroides*, added to the fact that no usages alien to Ovid can be proved to exist in them, is surely sufficient to demonstrate that the poems are his work.

III

THE DATE OF HEROIDES 16-21

The subject matter of the letters is of no assistance in an effort to determine their date, the nature of the themes being such that we naturally find no mention of persons or events contemporary with the time of writing; we must, therefore, depend upon probability and such evidence as may be afforded by the language and metre of the poems. As far as the mere labor of composition is concerned it is clear at the outset that no time in the poet's life is an impossible date, for the letters contain less than 800 lines, and fluency is Ovid's most obvious characteristic; two or three months at any time would have been ample for the production of the six epistles. The most natural date to assume is that at which the single letters were written, since all have come down to us together and have the same title and subject matter; to many scholars, indeed, no other date has seemed possible. But the date of the single letters is itself uncertain, and we can only say that a collection of *Heroides* appeared at some time between 19 B.C. and 1 A.D. The *Ars Amatoria* and the *Remedia Amoris* we know to have been published between 1 B.C.¹ and 1 A.D.² Furthermore, Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*³ speaks of the *Amores* and the *Epistulae* as already published. Now, nearly all scholars are agreed that the first edition of the *Amores* in five books appeared shortly after the death of Tibullus,⁴ in 19 B.C. A second edition, however, in three books, which we possess, was published at some later date, and included such of the poems of the earlier edition as the poet thought worthy of preservation, and also certain additions, among which is *Amores* 2, 18. In lines 19 ff. of this poem, as they are commonly interpreted, Ovid represents himself as engaged upon the *Ars Amatoria*—his words are, *artes teneri profite-*

¹ *A. A.* 1, 177; *Rem.* 155.

² Cf. Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litteratur*, § 293.

³ *A. A.* 3, 343-6.

⁴ Cf. *Amor.* 3, 9.

mur Amoris — and the *Epistulae Heroidum*, of which he mentions nine of the first fifteen. This was at the time when he published the second edition of the *Amores*, that is, not long before 1 B.C. However, by adopting the interpretation of these lines recently proposed by Professor E. K. Rand,¹ who refers *artes teneri profitemur Amoris* not to the *Ars Amatoria*, but to the *Amores*, as also didactic, we may put the second edition of the *Amores* about 11 B.C. or even earlier, and still allow an abundance of time for correcting and adding to the earlier edition. Such a date agrees much better with what we know of Ovid's temperament, as it materially reduces the interval of time between the two editions of the *Amores*. We have then a period of ten years or more between the single letters, which antedate the final edition of the *Amores*, and the *Ars Amatoria*; during this time the poet may well have felt a renewed interest in the epistolary treatment of mythological heroines and have written the double letters.

We may still question whether the double letters may not with equal probability be assigned to a date after 1 A.D. Ovid was banished in 9 A.D., and the years from that time until his death are filled chiefly with a succession of complaints and appeals for mercy which manifest a constant decline in poetic vigor. It is extremely unlikely that a man so broken by misfortune should return again to the light trifles of his youth, especially to such as treat the subject of love, the very cause of his banishment, at a time of keen distress of mind and body. There remain the years 1-9 A.D., during which the *Metamorphoses* and the six books of the *Fasti* were composed. As has been remarked, the poet could readily have found time in this period for the composition of so slight a work as the double letters; indeed, they might easily have served the purpose of relaxation from the cares of more ambitious productions.

We have, then, to choose between these two periods, 11-1 B.C. and 1-9 A.D., neither of which seems in itself an impossible time to which to assign *Heroides* 16-21. The earlier period seems the more probable; it contains fewer works, and follows immediately after the time when Ovid wrote the first fifteen letters. To this view it has been objected by those who do not accept the double letters, that these six cannot

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, XXVIII (1907), pp. 287 ff.

belong with the first fifteen because of their greater length and because the three whose imaginary writers are men cannot be included under the title *Epistulae Heroidum*. Lachmann further contended¹ that it is equally impossible to assign the disputed epistles to a later period in Ovid's life than that during which he wrote *Heroides* 1-15, since the poet would then have included in his collection the letter of Byblis, which now appears in the *Metamorphoses*.² This objection of course loses its force if we accept the earlier date for the second edition of the *Amores*, as there would still remain abundant time before the date of the *Metamorphoses* for the composition of the double letters, even if Ovid did not write them until several years after the completion of the first fifteen *Heroides*; in this case, it was probably the example of Sabinus that prompted Ovid to try his hand at both sides of a correspondence. At the same time, it is equally likely that his use of the epistolary setting to give variety to his treatment of the Byblis story may have awakened a desire to return to this literary form of his early period.³ In either case, the idea of giving the first letter of the correspondence to the man is due to Ovid's love of variety, which also accounts for the greater length of the double letters. Furthermore, Riese holds⁴ that the usages in the double *Heroides* which have awakened suspicion find support in Ovid's later works and present no difficulty if we assign the letters in question to the poet's maturer years. This view has naturally been opposed by those who reject the disputed epistles, but Bürger, while he does not himself accept it, admits the possibility of its truth,⁵ and Zingerle adopts Riese's conclusions⁶; Eschenburg, too, as we have already seen, is led by his later studies⁷ to abandon his earlier belief.⁸

¹ *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 58.

² *Met.* 9, 530-63.

³ Cf. Rand, *Notes on Ovid*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. XXXV (1904), p. 129.

⁴ *Jahrb. f. Philologie*, 1874, I, p. 569, n. 9; *Jahresb.* III (1874-5), pp. 233-6; X (1877, II), p. 21.

⁵ Bürger, *De Ovidi carminum amatoriorum inventione et arte*, Guelpherbyti, 1901, p. 47.

⁶ *Untersuchungen zur Echtheitsfrage der Heroiden Ovids*, Innsbruck, 1878, pp. 52 and 74.

⁷ *Wie hat Ovid*, etc.

⁸ *Metr. Untersuch.*

in the spuriousness of the double letters and accepts the view of Riese.¹

As there are, then, two dates possible for *Heroides* 16-21, we may review the arguments for both possibilities, to see whether we can declare definitely for either. In considering the objections of Lachmann and others to the metre and language of the double letters, we found that certain usages at variance with Ovid's earlier manner are justified by parallels in his later works; these include the use of *nihil* as a pyrrhic,² of polysyllabic words at the close of the pentameter,³ and the elision of a long syllable in the third thesis.⁴ Hultgren, moreover, finds in the structure of the verse a guide in determining the date of composition. He remarks⁵: *Non temere igitur contenditur, ex structura distichi . . . plus minusve dactylica summatim conjecturas fieri posse de tempore quo carmina confecta sunt. Auctore enim Ovidio dubitari amplius nequit quin poetarum elegiacorum poemata, minus dactylice in principio distichi constructa, inter opera juvenilis aetatis referenda, carmina autem cum plurimis initis dactylicis florenti aetati adnumeranda sint.* A reference to Table VIII⁶ will show that as regards the use of the dactyl in the first place of the hexameter the double letters agree fairly closely with the later works of Ovid, while the single letters are in harmony with his earlier writings. In the case of the pentameter, however,⁷ the difference between the two periods is less marked, and the *Amores* and the *De Medicamine Faciei* agree as nearly with the late as with the early works, so that no safe deduction can be drawn. Ovid's preference for certain verse-forms also seems to have varied at different periods, for while the common order of forms in the pentameter is *ds, dd, sd, ss* in the early works, the later writings usually show *ds, dd, ss, sd*; with the latter *Heroides* 16-21 agree. Here again, however, *Amores* 3 forms an exception to the rule, and affects the average for the entire work to such an extent that the *Amores* as a whole agree with the later works⁸; *Tristia* 1, also, shows the same order of verse-forms as the *early* writings, though the average for the entire five books presents no exception.

¹ Cf. his words quoted on p. 131.

⁵ *Observ. metr.*, I, p. 29.

² Cf. p. 126.

⁶ Cf. p. 147.

³ Cf. pp. 126, 127; also Table XI, p. 149.

⁷ Cf. Table X, p. 148.

⁴ Cf. p. 128.

⁸ Cf. Table X, p. 148.

The theory of an early date does not perhaps offer so many positive arguments ; its strength lies rather in its greater general probability, and in the weakness of the opposing view ; for it appears very unlikely that Ovid, with his many-sided talent and love of novelty, should have felt a revived interest in the *Heroides* so many years after the completion of the single letters, while a second treatment of the same general subject soon after the first success, with the letters longer and in pairs, is quite in keeping with the poet's mental habits. The inappropriateness of the title *Epistulae Heroidum* to the three letters by men need not prove a serious objection, since two collections of letters of so similar a nature and not differing greatly in date could easily have become fused under the title of the earlier and larger work.¹ Further, the original title has still a certain appropriateness ; the double letters are virtually "Letters of Heroines," since the men's letters serve merely as introductions, giving us the setting, while our interest centres in the replies which the women will make to the appeals of their lovers. It may further be urged against the arguments used to support the theory of a later date of composition that the agreements noted between the double letters and Ovid's later works are chiefly with the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, productions of a time when it is almost certain that the poet did not write love poetry and hence of little value as proof of date. Moreover, the arguments from metre, as we have observed, are so qualified by exceptions as greatly to weaken their force.

Neither side of the case admits of absolute proof. The facts are too few to form the basis of a safe conclusion ; probabilities may be found for either view, though they favor the early date. Such being our present information, it is better to suspend judgment, in the hope that further investigation may decide, with the help of new material, when Ovid wrote the double letters of the *Heroides*.

¹ Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1882, pp. 379 f.

THE USE OF ΑΛΙΤΗΡΙΟΣ, ΑΛΙΤΡΟΣ, ΑΡΑΙΟΣ, ΕΝΑΓΗΣ, ΕΝΘΤΜΙΟΣ,
ΠΑΛΑΜΝΑΙΟΣ, AND ΠΡΟΣΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΣ: A STUDY IN
GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY

BY WILLIAM HENRY PAYNE HATCH

THESE seven words, all of which have some religious significance, have never been made the objects of special investigation. It has therefore been my purpose to collect and classify according to meaning all the instances of their occurrence in Greek authors from the earliest times down to about 300 B.C. In my study of these words I have examined the Greek grammarians and lexicographers, and have quoted their definitions and explanations at considerable length. I have also discussed briefly the etymology of each, and sought to trace the course of its development from one meaning to another. Whenever the manuscripts contain a variant reading affecting the word under consideration, it has been noted. In a few passages I have accepted emendations, but only when the proposed correction has seemed necessary.¹ To state fully my reasons for accepting such emendations would transgress the limits of this paper.

Αλιτήριος

This word occurs twenty-eight times in Greek literature down to *circa* 300 B.C., and is used in the following senses:

I. Of persons and things regarded as *evil* or *sinful*. From Alcman down.

1. Of those who have committed sacrilege against the gods, or have taught impious doctrines. Suidas alone among the ancient lexicographers mentions this meaning. He says *s. v. ἀλιτήριος*: ἀνόσιος, ὁ ἐνεχόμενος μιάσματι καὶ ἔξημαρτηκὼς εἰς θεούς. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰππεύσιν [Eg. 445 f.] ‘ἐκ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων σέ φημι γεγονέναι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ.’

¹ Cf. the excellent principle of M. Haupt, quoted by Kammer in *Neue Philologische Rundschau*, 1887, No. 8.

(a) Of those who have committed sacrilege against the gods. *Andoc.* *De Myst.* 51: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναγραφέντας ἐν στήλαις ὡς ὄντας ἀλιτηρίους τῶν θεῶν τοὺς οὐδενὸς αἰτίους τῶν γεγενημένων.* [Lys.] 6, 52: ¹ *ἔτι δὲ παρελθῶν τὸν νόμον ὃν ὑμεῖς ἔθεσθε, ἔργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀλιτηρίου ὄντα.* [Lys.] 6, 53: ² *νῦν οὖν χρὴ νομίζειν τιμωρουμένους καὶ ἀπαλλαττομένους Ἀνδοκίδον τὴν πόλιν καθάριεν καὶ ἀποδιοπεύσθαι καὶ φαρμακὸν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ ἀλιτηρίου ἀπαλλάγεσθαι.*

(b) Of one who taught impious doctrines; *Eupolis* 146 a, b (Kock):

ἔνδον μέν ἔστι Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήμος
ὅς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν ἀλιτήριος²
περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χαμάθεν ἔσθιε.

2. Of the Alcmeonidae in particular; *Thuc.* 1, 126: *καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπὸ ἐκείνων.* *Eupolis* 96 (Kock):

βῆτωρ γάρ ἔστι νῦν τις, ὃν γ' ἔστιν λέγειν;
ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλιτήριος.

Here belongs also *Ar. Eq.* 445, quoted above.

3. Of those who have committed some offence or crime, especially against the state; *Aeschin.* 3, 131: *τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἀξιος εἰ τυχεῖν, ὡς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε;*³ *id.* 3, 157: *ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν.* *Dem. De Cor.* 159: *ῶν εἰς οὐτοσί, ὃν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβθέντα τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἀν δικήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων.* *id. De Fal. Leg.* 197: *ἀδημονούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐτ' ἔθελούσης οὐτ' ἐπισταμένης, νῦν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔφασαν οὐτοσὶ καὶ ὁ Φρύνων καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, τῶν θεοῖς ἔχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτον οὐσαν τρυφᾶν.* *ibid.* 226: *ῶστε τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐξ ἵσου νῦν ἐμ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι.* *Lycurg.* 117: *ποιήσαντες στήλην ἐψηφίσαντο εἰς ταῦτην ἀναγράφειν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους καὶ τοὺς προδότας.* *Dinarch.* 1, 77: *τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον ἀποκτείναντας δεῖ ἐξόριστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιῆσαι.*

¹ Though this oration was not written by Lysias, it is probably the work of one of his contemporaries. Cf. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*², I, p. 570.

² ἀλιτήριος apud Eust.; corr. Porson. So *passim* (e. g. Menand. 563 *infra*).

³ On the spelling of ἀλιτήριος in Aeschines and Demosthenes see *infra*, p. 162.

4. Of persons and things regarded for various reasons as *evil* or *sinful*; Alcman 87 (Bergk) :

ἀνὴρ δ' ἐν ἀσμένοισιν
ἀλιτήριος¹ ἥστ' ἐπὶ θάκῳ κατὰ πέτρας,
ὅρεών μὲν οὐδέν, δοκέων δέ.

Soph. *O. C.* 371 :

νῦν δ' ἐκ θεῶν του κάλιτηρίου² φρενὸς
εἰσῆλθε τοῦν τρὶς ἀθλίοιν ἔρις κακή,
ἀρχῆς λαβέσθαι καὶ κράτους τυραννικοῦ.

Lys. 13, 79 : οὗτε γὰρ συστιγήσας τούτῳ οὐδεὶς φανήσεται οὗτε σύσκηνος γενόμενος, οὗτε δὲ ταξίαρχος εἰς τὴν φυλὴν κατατάξας, δλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλιτηρίῳ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ διελέγετο. Eubulus 88 (Kock) :

τρέφει με Θετταλός τις, ἀνθρωπος βαρύς,
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ κάλιτήριος,
δύσφαγος, δύψινῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

Damoxenus 2, v. 7 (Kock) :

A. ἡ φύσις πάσης τέχνης
ἀρχέγονον ἐστ'. B. ἀρχέγονον, ἀλιτήριε;

Menand. 563 (Kock) :

ταύτας μεγίστας ἀποτίνω 'γὼ συμβολάς.
σφάττει με, λεπτὸς γίγνομ' εὐωχούμενος
τὰ σκώμμαθ' οία τὰ σοφά τε καὶ στρατηγικά.
οίος δ' ἀλαζών ἐστιν ἀλιτήριος.

This meaning, 'wicked,' is also given by the following lexicographers : Hesych. ἀλιτήριος· ἀμαρτωλός, πλανήτης, θανάτου αἴτιος καὶ ἔνοχος. Cf. *Etym. Gud.*, p. 35. Choeroboscus in *Anecd. Gr. Ox.* II, p. 169 : ἀλιτήριος· ὁ ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτρός· σημαίνει δὲ τὸν ἀμαρτωλόν. Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 184, 6 (Δικῶν Ὀνόματα) ἀλάστωρ· ὁ τὰ μεγάλα ἀδικήματα ποιῶν. καὶ ἀλιτήριος ὁ πολλὰ ἡδικηκώς καὶ κολάζεσθαι

¹ ἀλιτηρός Schol. Pind. O. 1, 97; ἀλιτρός Welcker; ἀλιτήριος Hiller-Crusius.

² κάξαλιτηροῦ L L³ M S; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ A V³ R Ald.; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Vat.; κάξαλιτηροῦ B; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ K; κάξαλιτηροῦ Ven.; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Triclinius; κάλιτηροῦ Touř; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Heath; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Dindorf; κάξ ἀλαστόρου Bergk; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Hermann; κάξ ἀλιτηροῦ Campbell.

ᾶξιος. *ibid.* I, p. 211, 20 (Δέξιες Ρητορικαί): ἀλιτήριος δὲ πολλὰ ἡδικηκῶς καὶ ὃν κολάζειν προσῆκε περὶ ὧν ἔξήμαρτεν. *ibid.* I, p. 377, 11 (Συναγωγὴ Δέξεων Χρησίμων): ἀλιτήριοι· ἀμαρτωλοί. ἀλιτήριοι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκαλοῦντο. λιμὸς κατέλαβε ποτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἥρπαξον οὖν τινες ἀλούμενα τὰ ἀλευρα. ἀπὸ γοῦν ἐκείνων τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἐκάλουν. καὶ ἄλλως. ἀλιτήριος δὲ λέγεται ὅτι λιμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις, καὶ οἱ πέντες τὰ τῶν ἀλούντων ἀλευρα διήρπαζον. . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ παράγωγος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτραίνειν, ὁ ἔστιν ἀμαρτάνειν. This unknown writer, with whom Suidas¹ and the *Etymologicum Magnum*² agree *verbatim*, seems to have been the first to relate this story concerning the origin of the word ἀλιτήριος. But he also says: ἐλέχθησαν οὖν οἱ τοὺς ἀλούντας τηροῦντες καὶ ἀρπάζοντες ἀλιτήριοι. παρέτεινε δὲ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετὰ βίας τι ποιούντων ἀπὸ τῆς σιτοδείας τῆς κατὰ τὸν Αἰτωλικὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. This meaning, however, is not found in the authors who flourished before the beginning of the third century B.C. The article in *Etym. Mag.* also adds: ἀλιτηρία Δημήτηρ καὶ ἀλιτήριος Ζεύς· ὅτι λιμοῦ συντόνου γενομένου τοὺς ἀλούντας πάντας ἐφύλαττον, διὰ τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν τι τῶν ἀλουμένων. ὡς οὖν ἐπόπτας καὶ τηρητὰς τῶν ἀλουμένων, τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτως ὠνόμασαν. But there is no instance of ἀλιτήριος used of Zeus or Demeter in the extant writings of the period to which this study is limited.

II. Of the divinities who avenge homicide. This use is found only in Antiphon. See *Or.* 4, α, 3 and 4; 4, β, 8; 4, γ, 7; 4, δ, 10.

Pollux says that ἀλιτήριος was used of a certain class of evil spirits, but he does not mention its application to the divinities who avenge murder. Poll. 5, 131: οἱ δὲ δαίμονες οἱ μὲν λύοντες τὰς ἀράς ἀλεξίκακοι λέγονται, ἀποπομπαῖοι, ἀποτρόπαιοι, λύσιοι, φύξιοι, οἱ δὲ κυροῦντες ἀλιτήριοι, ἀλιτηριώδεις, προστρόπαιοι, παλαμναῖοι. Also in a quotation found in Suidas ἀλιτήριος is used of a δαίμων.³ But the other lexicographers are silent concerning ἀλιτήριος as a designation of superhuman beings.

III. Of a youth who squandered his father's property in luxurious living. This use is found only in Andocides, *De Myst.* 130; cf. 131: οὕτως οὖν χρὴ περὶ τούτου γιγνώσκειν, ὡς ὅντος Ἰππονίκου ἀλιτηρίου.

The Greek lexicographers make no reference to this peculiar use.

¹ Suidas s. v. ἀλιτηρίους. Cf. Procop. *Hist. Arc.* 12.

² *Etym. Mag.* 65, 22.

³ Suid. s. v.

In the Seventh Epistle of Plato ἀλιτήριος is used, in connection with δαίμον, of an evil spirit.¹ This example, however, is not included in this study, because to the present writer the epistle seems to be later than 300 B.C.

The base of ἀλιτήριος is λιτ, originally σλιτ, which appears in Greek and several cognate languages.² Thus in Greek we have ἀλιτήριος, ἀλιτρός, ἀλείτης, ἀλιταίνω, etc. For the a cf. ἀλείφω, ἀμείβω, etc. The same root is also seen in the following: Gothic sleitha = *malum*, gasleithjan = *laedere*; Old Saxon slidhi = *malus*, slidhmôd = *inimicus*; Anglo-Saxon slidhe = *malus*, slidhan = *laedere*; Old High German slidic = *saevus, malus*.

In accordance with the meaning of the base λιτ the original sense of ἀλιτήριος must have been 'evil,' 'sinful.' The word was used of those whom the gods were believed to hate, whether this hatred were due to some offence committed against the gods³ or because one had taught impious doctrines concerning them or religion. Hence we find ἀλιτήριος used of the Alcmeonidae, who were defiled with the blood of Cylon,⁴ and also of the sophist Protagoras, who denied the existence of the gods.⁵ But the use of the word is not limited to such cases as these. For several instances are found in which it is applied to persons who have committed some offence or crime, especially against the state.⁶ Furthermore, ἀλιτήριος is used in less specific cases, where the sin or wickedness arises from various causes.⁷

The use of the word in the matter of homicide is interesting. Ἀλιτήριος, like παλαμναῖος⁸ and προστρόπαιος,⁹ was transferred from the murderer, as the perpetrator of the crime, to the avenging divinities, who harass and torment the guilty one's mind. So far as the extant literature is concerned, this use is confined to Antiphon.

¹ Cf. [Plat.] *Ep.* 7, 366 B; cf. also Poll. 5, 131.

² Cf. Bezzemberger's *Beiträge*, III, p. 17 f.; de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le Système primitif des Voyelles*, p. 75. In the matter of etymology I have received valuable help from Professor C. D. Buck, of the University of Chicago.

³ Cf. Andoc. *De Myst.* 51.

⁴ Cf. Thuc. 1, 126; Ar. *Eq.* 445 f.

⁵ Cf. Eupolis 146 a, b (Kock).

⁶ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 131; Dem. *De Cor.* 159.

⁷ Cf. Alcman 87 (Bergk); Eubulus 88 (Kock).

⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 179.

⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 185.

Finally, *ἀλιτήριος* is used three times in Andocides of a youth who squandered his father's property in luxurious living. The young man is here thought of as an avenging spirit and his misdeeds as harrowing and harassing the father's mind. This metaphorical use of *ἀλιτήριος* is connected with its application to the divinities who seek vengeance upon murderers; but it presupposes a more general use of the word in the sense of *evil spirit* without restriction to the special case of homicide.¹ In the extant literature down to the year 300 B.C. there is no instance of *ἀλιτήριος* used in the general sense of *evil spirit*; but in one of the spurious epistles of Plato the word is once so used.² This instance probably represents an earlier use, which by sheer accident has not been preserved to us in the literature of the period under consideration.³

¹ Cf. Poll. 5, 131.

² Cf. [Plat.] *Ep.* 7, 366 B; and also the quotation given by Suidas *s. v.* (*supra*, p. 160).

³ Professor Blass in his edition of Demosthenes (cf. his *Att. Beredsamkeit*², III, 1, 105) everywhere writes *ἀλειτήριος* instead of the more familiar *ἀλιτήριος*, on the ground that the juxtaposition of more than two short syllables, which must often result if *ἀλιτήριος* be retained, is detrimental to the prose rhythm of the orator's speeches. In support of the emendation *ἀλειτήριος* he brings forward the Homeric forms *ἀλείτης* and *νηλειτεῖς*. But these forms are not convincing, because they merely exhibit another grade of the same vowel. Furthermore, he mentions the form *ἀλιτῆρος*, which several manuscripts have in Soph. *O. C.* 371 (cf. Eust. p. 717, 20, *infra*, p. 164). But even if we should accept the reading *ἀλιτηροῦ*, or *ἀλειτηροῦ* with Ven., in this corrupt passage in Sophocles, the existence of the form *ἀλιτηροῦ* in a classical writer proves no more in regard to the spelling of *ἀλιτήριος* than the presence of *ἀλείτης* and *νηλειτεῖς* in Homer. To the present writer, however, the emendation *ἀλιτηριοῦ*, which was suggested by Toup and has been adopted by many more recent editors, seems a more plausible reading in this passage.

For the following reasons the common spelling *ἀλιτήριος* should be retained:

1. The manuscripts without exception read *ἀλιτήριος* and not *ἀλειτήριος*.
2. In an inscription from Stratonicea, in Caria (*C. I. G.* 2717), which Boeckh assigns to the third century after Christ, the form *ἀλιτήριος* is found. This late inscription, so far as I have been able to learn, is the only one which contains the word.
3. The spelling *ἀλειτήριος* is unknown to the Greek grammarians and lexicographers.
4. In the passage from Aristophanes, quoted above (*Eq.* 445), the metre will not admit *ἀλειτήριος*. It is not necessary to adopt Bentley's conjecture *ἀλιτηρῶν*.

Ἀλιτρός

This word is found ten times in the literature of the period under consideration, and the following senses may be distinguished :

I. In the sense of 'sinful' or 'wicked,' in reference to serious wrongdoing. From Homer down. Hom. Θ 360 :

ἀλλὰ πατήρ οὐμὸς φρεσὶ μαίνεται οὐκ ἀγαθῆσιν,
σχέτλιος, αὐλὲν ἀλιτρός, ἐμῶν μενέων ἀπερωένς.

Hom. Ψ 593 :

ἄφαρ κέ τοι αὐτίκα δοῦναι
βουλοίμην ἡ σοί γε, διοτρεφές, ἡματα πάντα
ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν καὶ δαίμοσιν είναι ἀλιτρός.

Solon 13, 25 (Bergk) :

τοιαύτη Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ,
ῶσπερ θυητὸς ἀνήρ, γίγνεται ὁξύχολος·
αἱὲ δ' οὐ ἐ λέληθε διαμπερές, δοτις ἀλιτρὸν
θυμὸν ἔχει, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἔξεφάνη.

Theog. 377 :

πῶς δή σεν, Κρονίδη, τολμᾶ νόσος ἄνδρας ἀλιτροὺς
ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,
ην τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῆ νόσος, ην τε πρὸς ὕβριν
ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκοις ἔργμαστε πειθομένων;

Theog. 731 :

Ζεῦ πάτηρ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς
ὕβριν ἀδεῖν, καὶ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον,
θυμῷ σχέτλια ἔργα μετὰ φρεσὶ θ' δοτις ἀθερής
τεχνάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος,
αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τείσαι κακά.

Theog. 743 :

καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστὶ δίκαιον,
ἔργων δοτις ἀνήρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,
μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μηδ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν,
ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν μη τὰ δίκαια πάθη;

Pind. *Nem.* 8, 38 :

ἔγω δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαιμ',
αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

Pind. *Ol.* 2, 64 :

τὰ δ' ἐν τῷδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ
ἀλιτρὰ κατὰ γὰς δικάζει τις ἔχθρα
λόγον φράσας ἀνάγκη.

This meaning is noted by the Greek authorities: Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 184, 8: ἀλιτρὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτών. Suid. s. v. ἀλιτρία: καὶ ἀλιτρὸς ἀμαρτωλός. E. M. 65, 16: ἀλιτρός· ὁ ἀμαρτωλὸς καὶ ἄδικος. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτροῦ, ἀλιτρὸς καὶ ἀλιτραῖος· ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτρήριος κατὰ συγκοπήν. Eust. p. 717, 20: ἀλιτρὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ δέοντος ἀλιτρών, ἥτοι ἀμαρτών, ἵνα γέ ἀλιτρός, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ρ ἀλιτρὸς ἡ ἀλιτρήρος καὶ ἐν συγκοπῇ ἀλιτρός; p. 1529, 51: τὸ δὲ ἀλιτρός ἔσοι καὶ οὐκ ἀποφάλια εἰδός,¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιτρες καὶ οὐκ εἴτε τὸ ἀλιτρός καὶ ταῦτα μὴ ἀπαιδεύτος ὥν. Eustathius, however, appears not to have had the milder sense of ἀλιτρός in mind.

II. In the milder sense of *knavish* or *roguish*, in reference to less grave misconduct. From Homer down. Hom. ε 182 :

ἡ δὴ ἀλιτρός γέ ἔσοι καὶ οὐκ ἀποφάλια εἰδός,
οἷον δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἐπεφράσθης ἀγορεῦσαι.

Semon. Amorg. 7, 7 :

τὴν δ' ἐξ ἀλιτρῆς θεὸς ἔθηκ' ἀλώπεκος
γυναικα, πάντων ἴδρυ.

The milder sense of ἀλιτρός seems to have escaped the notice of the Greek lexicographers.

'Αλιτρός is also found in a verse of Phocylides, if we accept the probable emendation of Bergk.² But since it is altogether likely that this poem was written by a Jew not earlier than the second century B.C., in order to expound the teachings of the Old Testament to Greek readers, this example is not included in the present study.³

Since the etymology of ἀλιτρήριος has been treated above, it is unnecessary to discuss here the etymology of the cognate ἀλιτρός; ἀλιτρός is, of course, an independent formation.

In the two meanings of the word, as given above, the force of the root is readily recognizable. For, as the examples show, ἀλιτρός is

¹ Cf. Hom. ε 182.

² Cf. [Phocyl.] 141.

³ Cf. Bernays, *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*. Breslau, 1856.

more often used in the stricter sense of *sinful* or *wicked*.¹ Sometimes, however, its meaning is softened, and it appears in the milder sense of *knavish* or *roguish*. This use is found first in the *Odyssey*.²

In the stricter sense at least, *ἀλιτρός*, like *ἀλιτήριος*, moves in the domain of religion; for moral rectitude was believed to be dear to the gods.

Ἄραιος

This word is used eighteen times in the authors who flourished before *circa* 300 B.C., and its meanings may be classified as follows:

I. Of those who are accursed or who are bound by a curse. From Aeschylus down. This fundamental meaning of the word is rightly noted by the Greek lexicographers: Poll. 5, 130: ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπαρώμενος, καὶ ὁ τις ἐπαράται, ἀραιος. Hesych. s. v.: ἀραιον· κατάρατον. Suid. s. v.: ἀραιος ἀράθ ὑποκείμενος· 'μὴ νῦν ὀναίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραιος, εἴ σε τι δέρακ' ὀλόιμην,'³ καὶ 'εἰ δὲ μή, μενῶ σ' ἔγω καὶ νέρθεν ὁν ἀραιος, εἰσαεὶ βαρύς.'⁴ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς φησὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ.

II. Of persons or things that for some reason are regarded as accursed. Aesch. *Sept.* 785:

τέκνοις δ' ἀραιάς⁵
ἔφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφᾶς,
αἰαι, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς.

Soph. *Ant.* 863:

ἴω ματρῶαι λέκτρων
ἀται κοιμήματά τ' αὐτογέννητ' ἐμῷ πατρὶ δυσμόρον ματρός,
οἰων ἐγώ ποθ' ἀ ταλαίφρων ἔφυν·
πρὸς οὐδὲς ἀραιος, ἄγαμος, ἀδ' ἐγὼ μέτοικος ἄρχομαι.

¹ Cf. Hom. Ψ 593 f.; Pind. *Nem.* 8, 38 f.

² Cf. Hom. ε 182 f.; Semon. *Amorg.* 7, 7 f.

³ Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 644 f.

⁴ Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1201 f.

⁵ τέκνοις δ' ἀραλας codd.; τέκνοισι δ' ἀρὰs Hermann; τέκνοις τ' Pauw; τέκνοις δ' ἀρράτον (olim ὠραλος) Bothe; τέκνοισι δ' ἀραλας Wellauer; τέκνοις δ' ἀπ' ἀραιᾶs G. C. W. Schneider; τέκνοις δ' ὠραλας Hartung; τέκνοις δ' ἀθλας Prier; τέκνοις δ' ἀρελας Wieseler; τέκνοις δ' ἀγριλας Francken; τέκνοις δ' Ἀρεως Lowinski; τέκνοις δ' ἀραλας coni. ego.

Soph. *O. T.* 642 :

ΟΙ. ξύμφημ· δρῶντα γάρ νιν, ὡ γύναι, κακῶς
εἴληφα τούμὸν σῶμα σὺν τέχνῃ κακῇ.

ΚΡ. μὴ νῦν ὀναίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραιος, εἴ σέ τι
δέδρακ', δλοίμην, ὥν ἐπαιτιῷ με δρᾶν.

Eur. *Hel.* 694 :

ἐμὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἀπὸ κακόποτμον ἀραιάν
ἔβαλε θεὸς ἀπό τε πόλεως ἀπό τε σέθεν,
ὅτε μέλαθρα λέχεά τ' ἔλιπον οὐ λιποῦν·
ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς γάμοις.

2. Of one who is bound by a curse. Soph. *O. T.* 269 :

ΟΙ. καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν εὑχομαι θεὸς
μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀνιέναι τινὰ
μήτ' οὖν γυναικῶν παιᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ πότμῳ
τῷ νῦν φθερεῖσθαι κάτι τοῦδ' ἔχθιον·
ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοισι Καδμείοις, δσοις
τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκονθ', ἢ τε σύμμαχος Δίκη
χοὶ πάντες εὐ ξυνέειν εἰσαὲι θεοί.

ΧΟ. ὥσπερ μ' ἀραιὸν ἐλαβεῖς, ὡδ', ἄναξ, ἐρῶ.

Although this case is somewhat different from the preceding, it is not distinguished by the Greek lexicographers.

II. Of the evil or fate which Oedipus invoked upon his sons.¹ In Aeschylus only. Aesch. *Sept.* 895 :

διανταίαν λέγεις [πλαγὰν] δόμοισι καὶ
σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους, [ἐννέπω]
ἀναυδάτῳ μένει
ἀραιῷ² τ' ἐκ πατρὸς
<οὐ> διχόφρονι πότμῳ.

III. For the genitive plural ἀρῶν. In Aeschylus only. Aesch. *Agam.* 1565 :

τίς δὲν γονὰν ἀραιὸν³ ἐκβάλοι δόμων;
κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄτα.

¹ Cf. *E. M.* 134, 16: σημαίνει καὶ τὰ εὐκτάῦα.

² ἀραι τ' *G.*

³ ἀραι codd.; corr. Hermann.

IV. Of Zeus, as attending to the curses of mortals. In Sophocles only. Soph. *Phil.* 1178:

ΧΟ. φίλα μοι, φίλα ταῦτα παρήγγελας ἐκόντι τε πράσσειν.

ἴωμεν ἴωμεν

ναὸς ἴν' ἡμῖν τέτακται.

ΦΙ. μῆ, τρὸς ἀραιὸν Διός, ἐλθης, ἵκετεύω.

These uses, arranged under captions II, III, and IV, are not mentioned by the Greek lexicographers.

V. Of persons and things that bring calamity, disaster, or destruction to anyone. From Aeschylus down. Aesch. *Agam.* 235:

στόματός τε καλλιπρώ-
ρου φυλακᾶ κατασχεῖν
φθόγγον ἀραιὸν οἴκοις,
βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδω μένει.

Aesch. *Agam.* 1397:

τοσόνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε
πλήσσας ἀραιών αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολών.

Soph. *O. T.* 1287:

βοῷ διοίγειν κλῆθρα καὶ δηλοῦν τινα
τοῖς πᾶσι Καδμείοισι τὸν πατροκτόνον,
τὸν μητρός, αὐδῶν ἀνόσι' οὐδὲ ρήγα μοι,
ώς ἐκ χθονὸς ρύψων ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲ ἔτι
μενῶν δόμοις ἀραιός, ώς ἡράσσατο.

Soph. *Trach.* 1199:

γάρ δὲ μηδὲν εἰσίτω δάκρυ·
δλλ' ἀστένακτος κάδάκρυτος, εἴπερ εἴ
τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, ἔρεσον· εἰ δὲ μῆ, μενῶ σ' ἐγώ
καὶ νέρθεν ὧν ἀραιὸς είσαι βαρύς.

Soph. *Frag.* 106 (Nauck):

ἀραιάς.

Since Hesychius, who has preserved this fragment for us, interprets *ἀραιάς* by *βλαβεράς*, the fragment should without doubt be placed under this heading. Soph. *Frag.* 367 (Nauck):

οὐ πρόσθεν ἐλθὼν ἦν ἀραιός μοι νέκυς.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1414:

ΘΗ. δόξης γάρ ήμεν πρὸς θεῶν ἐσφαλμένοι.

ΙΠ. φεύ·

εἴθ' ἦν ἀραιὸν δαίμοσιν βροτῶν γένος.

Eur. *I. T.* 777:

ΟΡ. Πυλάδη, τί λέξω; ποῦ ποτ' ὄνθ' ηφήμεθα;

ΙΦ. ἡ σοὶς ἀραιά δώμασιν γενήσομαι,

‘Ορέσθ’, οὐτὶς ὄνομα δις κλύων μάθησ.

Eur. *Med.* 606:

ΜΗ. τί δρῶσα; μῶν γαμοῦσα καὶ προδρῦσά σε;

ΙΑ. ἀρὰς τυράννοις ἀνοσίους ἀρωμένη.

ΜΗ. καὶ σοὶς ἀραιά γ' οὐσα τυγχάνω δόμους.

Plat. *Legg.* 11, 931 c: ἀραιός γὰρ γονεὺς ἐκγόνοις, ὡς οὐδὲς ἔτερος ἀλλοι, δικαιότατα. Hesychius and a writer in the *Etymologicum Magnum* evidently had this meaning in mind. Hesych. s. v.: ἡ <ώς> ὁ πρόσθεν ἔλθων ἦν ἀραιός μοι νέκυς' ολον ἀρὰν προσετρίβετο καὶ κατευχήν. Σοφοκλῆς Πολυεῖδω¹. *E. M.* 134, 16: καὶ ἀραιά, βίαια, δεινά, χαλεπά, ὀδυνηρά· σημαίνει καὶ τὰ εὐκταῖα.

It is noteworthy that *ἀραιός*, with the exception of the single instance in the *Laws* of Plato, is found only in the tragic poets.

The root of *ἀραιός* is *ἀρφ-*, from which there are several derivatives in Greek: *ἀρά*, which seems to have arisen from an original **ἀρφα*²; *ἀράμαι*, *ἀραιός*, *ἀρατός*, etc. I am not aware that this root appears in the cognate languages.

In Homer *ἀρή*, like its cognates *ἀράμαι* and *ἀρητήρ*, is sometimes used in a good sense and means *prayer*³; but it often has the evil meaning of *curse*.⁴ *Ἀραιός*, however, always bears an evil connotation.

Accordingly, *ἀραιός* is used of persons and things that for some reason are regarded as accursed.⁵ But it is also applied in one instance to a chorus, which is not really accursed, but which Oedipus has laid under

¹ Cf. Soph. *Frag.* 367 (Nauck):

² Cf. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*³, pp. 32 and 41.

³ Cf. Hom. Ο 378; δ 767.

⁴ Cf. Hom. Ω 489; β 59.

⁵ Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 785 f.; Eur. *Hel.* 694 f.

a curse to make known the murderer of Laius.¹ Only if the chorus knows the guilty one and conceals him will the curse become effective.

From this proper use, denoting persons or things accursed or subject to a curse, *ἀράος* is in one case transferred to the evil which is invoked by means of a curse.² Moreover, Aeschylus once calls the manifold wickedness and crime of the house of Agamemnon *γονὰν ἀράον*, 'brood of curses,' provided we accept the excellent emendation of Hermann.³ Here the adjective *ἀράον* is used instead of the genitive plural *ἀράων*. As attending to the curses which men utter, Zeus is once styled *ἀράος* by Sophocles.⁴ This use was doubtless suggested by the mere association of Zeus with curses. One may compare the somewhat similar application of *ἰκέτιος* to Zeus as the protector of suppliants. Finally, since those persons or things that are themselves accursed were believed to be noxious to others, *ἀράος* came to be applied more generally to men and inanimate things that bring calamity or destruction; just as in primitive religions taboo is believed to be transmissible.⁵ The curse is a religious concept, and *ἀράος* throughout its history belongs to the sphere of religion.

Ἐναγής

Of this word sixteen instances are found in the literature of the period under investigation, and its several uses are as follows:

I. Of those who for some reason are accursed. From Herodotus down. This meaning is noted by the Greek lexicographers. Hesych. *s. v.* : ἐναγές· μυσαρόν, ἀκάθαρτον. ἐναγής· πονηρός. Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 330, 26 (Συναγωγὴ Λέξεων Χρησίμων) : καὶ ἐναγής ὁ ἐνεχόμενος τῷ μύσει. Suid. *s. v.* : ἐναγεῖς βεβήλους, ἀπορροπαίους. Δαμάσκιος 'τοὺς δὲ παντάπασιν ἀπεωθεῖτο ὡς ἐναγεῖς ὄντας καὶ ἀνιάτους· οὐδέν τε αὐτὸν ἔδυσώπει προσδέχεσθαι σφιν τὴν ὄμηλίαν, οὐ πλοῦτος ἔξαισιος, οὐ περιφάνεια πολιτείας, οὐ δυναστεία ἀμαχος, οὐ κακοήθεια τυραννικῆ τις.' ἐναγές τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ ἀγνόν· ἄγος γάρ τὸ ιερὸν σέβας. ἔνθεν

¹ Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 269 f.; *ἐναγής* (*infra*, pp. 171 and 172).

² Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 895 f.

³ Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1565 f.

⁴ Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1178 f.

⁵ Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1397 f.; Soph. *Trach.* 1199 f.; Eur. *I. T.* 777 f. Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*³, p. 61 f.

καὶ τὸ ‘ἄγη μ’ ἔχει’¹ καὶ ‘ώς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαι.’² κατ’ εὐφημισμὸν δὲ καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἄγη λέγεται, καὶ οἱ μαροὶ ἐναγεῖς καλούνται.³ ἐναγῆς σεβάσμος, ή καὶ βέβηλος. ‘ἐκ τούτων ἐκένος τῇ τελευτῇ προσήγει ἐναγῆς.’ Since, however, Suidas does not distinguish the roots ἀγ and ἀγή, he wrongly explains the derivation of ἐναγῆς. *E. Gud.*, p. 635: τῷ εὐαγεῖ ἐναντίον ὁ ἐναγῆς.

1. Of those who have committed sacrilege against a god. Aeschin. 3, 108: λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύοντες ἐψηφίσαντο Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίον τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ ποίσιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 3, 117: ‘ἀρχὴν δέ γε,’ ἔφη, ‘ώς ἀνδρες Ἑλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδὲ ἀν ὀνομάζετο τούνομα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, δλλ’ ώς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ’ ἀν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.’ 3, 129: ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτὸὺς ἐξημίσαν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐν ῥῆτῳ χρόνῳ προείπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετέστησαν, τοὺς δὲ δι’ εὐσέβειαν φεύγοντας κατήγαγον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ, τούς τ’ ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον, καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὗτως ἡδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποίησαντο.

2. Of those who have violated an oath. Aeschin. 3, 110: γέγραπται γὰρ οὐτως ἐν τῇ ἀρῷ, ‘εἴ τις τάδε,’ φησί, ‘παραβαίνοι ή πόλις ή ἴδιωτης ή ἔθνος, ἐναγῆς,’ φησίν, ‘ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Δητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προνοίας.’ 3, 121: σκοπεύετε δή, ποιὰ φωνῇ, ποιὰ ψυχῇ, ποίους ὅμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἰκετείας ποιήσεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραιὶς ἐνόχους. 3, 122: καὶ πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἀναγορεύει τοὺς ἵερομνήμονας καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους ἡκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερῷ. ‘ἡτις δ’ ἀν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, ἔρξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρῇ ἔνοχος.’

3. Of those who are guilty of the murder of suppliants.

(a) Of the Lacedaemonians, who had murdered some suppliants. Thuc. 1, 139: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τουαντα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως.

¹ Cf. Hom. Φ 221.

² Cf. Hom. § 168.

³ Cf. Schol. on Soph. *O. T.* 656.

(b) In particular of the Alcmeonidae, who were guilty of the murder of Cylon. Hdt. 5, 70: τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἔξεβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων. Hdt. 5, 71: οἱ δὲ ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὅδε ὀνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὄλυμπιονίκης. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταῖρην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐδὲ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἵκετης ἔζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτους ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἱ περ ἐνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. Hdt. 5, 72: Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἔξεβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε. Thuc. 1, 126: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγέες καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ¹ Thuc. 1, 126: ἥλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγέας τούτους, ἥλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὑστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ δυτά ἀνελόντες ἔξεβαλον. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 20, 2: ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγόρας ἐπιλειπόμενος τῇ δυνάμει πάλιν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Κλεομένην, ὅντα ἐαυτῷ ἔξενον, συνέπεισεν ἐλαύνειν τὸ ἄγος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἐναγῶν.

II. Of one who has bound himself with a curse. In Sophocles only. Soph. *O. T.* 655:

ΟΙ. οἰσθ' οὖν ἀ χρήξεις; ΧΟ. οἶδα. ΟΙ. φράζε δὴ τί φήσ. ΧΟ. τὸν ἐναγῆ φίλον μῆποτ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ σὺν ἀφανεῖ λόγῳ σ' ἄτιμον βαλεῖν.

III. Of offerings due to the gods. In Aeschylus only. Aesch. *Supp. 123*:

θεοῖς δ' ἐναγέα τέλεα πελομένων καλῶ-
ἐπιδρομ', ὅποθι θάνατος ἀπῆ.

It seems probable, however, that ἐναγής in this sense is derived from the unrelated root *ἀγ-*, and is therefore a different word. If this be so, the expression means 'sacrificial rites in expiation.'¹

The meanings given under headings II and III are not mentioned by the Greek lexicographers. Ἐναγής occurs once in the pseudo-Platonic treatise *Timaeus Locrus*.² Since, however, this work was

¹ Cf. Tucker, *Supplices of Aeschylus*, p. 33.

² Cf. [Plat.] *Tim. Locr.* 104 D.

certainly written during the Roman period, this instance is not included in the present study.¹ The root of ἐναγῆς is ἀγ, which appears in the following words: ἀγος, ἀγως,² ἀγῆς, ἐναγῆς. It is also seen in the Sanskrit अगस = *delictum*. ἐναγῆς is always used with some reference to religious ideas.

The word is applied to persons who for some reason were regarded as accursed. Naturally those who had committed sacrilege against a god were looked upon as accursed, and hence they were called ἐναγεῖς.³ So, too, those who had violated their oath were subject to the abhorrence of men and the enmity of the gods, and of such ἐναγῆς was used.⁴ Or again the application of the word might be due to the killing of suppliants who had sought safety at the altar of a god.⁵ Thus ἐναγῆς was used especially of the Alcmeonidae, who were defiled with the murder of Cylon.⁶

Sophocles once uses ἐναγῆς in reference to Creon, who in denying the accusation of Oedipus had bound himself with a curse in order to produce belief in his innocence.⁷ Finally, ἐναγῆς is perhaps used of offerings due to the gods.⁸ This use may have originated in the thought of one's being bound by a curse to make such offerings. In case of a failure to do so, one would be truly ἐναγῆς. The adjective is thus transferred from the person owing the offerings to the offerings themselves.⁹

Ἐνθύμιος

This word occurs twelve times in the extant literature of the period here treated, and it is used with the following variations in meaning :

¹ Cf. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁴, p. 461. This tractate is fully discussed by Anton in his work entitled *De Origine Libelli τερπι ψυχᾶς κερμα καλ φίσιος*.

² Cf. *E. M.* 10, 20.

³ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 108; 3, 117.

⁴ Cf. Aeschin. 3, 110; 3, 122.

⁵ Cf. Thuc. 1, 139.

⁶ Cf. Hdt. 5, 70; Thuc. 1, 126.

⁷ Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 655 f.; *ἀπαῖος* (*supra*, pp. 166 and 168 f.).

⁸ Cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 123 f.

⁹ But cf. *supra*, p. 171.

I. Of an object of anxiety or care, without religious connotation.
From Homer down. Hom. v 421 :

μὴ δή τοι κείνος γε λίγην ἐνθύμιος ἔστω.
αὐτή μιν πόμπευον, ἵνα κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροιτο
κεῖσθαι.

Soph. *O. T.* 739 :

ΙΟ. τί δ' ἔστι σοι τοῦτ', Οἰδέπονς, ἐνθύμιον;
ΟΙ. μήπω μ' ἔρωτα· τὸν δὲ Λάιον φύσιν
τίν' εἶχε φράξε, τίνος ἀκμὴν ἡβῆς ἔχων.

Soph. *Trach.* 105 :

οἴά τιν' ἀθλιον ὅρνιν,
οὐποτ' εὐνάζειν ἀδακρύτων βλεφάρων πόθον, δλλ
εῦμναστον ἀνδρὸς δεῖμα τρέφουσαν ὁδοῦ
ἐνθυμίοις εὐναῖς ἀνανδρώτοισι τρύχεσθαι.

Eur. *Ion* 1347 :

ΠΥ. ἐνθύμιόν μοι τότε τίθησι Λοξίας
ΙΩ. τί χρῆμα δρᾶσαι; λέγε, πέραινε σοὺς λόγους.
ΠΥ. σῶσαι τόδ' εὐρημ' εἰς τὸν ὄντα νῦν χρόνον.

This meaning is mentioned by Suidas *s. v.*, Eustathius 1747, 34, and *Lexicon Vindobon.* *s. v.*

II. In various senses of a religious character. From Herodotus down.

The religious significance of the word is recognized by Hesychius and Suidas *s. v.*: ἐνθύμιον· ἀπορον, σεμνόν.

1. Of the pangs of conscience that ensue from a wrong done or a duty neglected in the past.

(a) Of pangs of conscience occasioned by an offence against religion. Hdt. 8, 54 : ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ διαβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὡν ὅψιν τινὰ ιδῶν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν.

(b) Of pangs of conscience on behalf of a murdered person whose death remains unavenged. Antiphon 2, γ, 10 : ἀδίκως δ' ἀπολυομένου τούτου ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡμῖν μὲν προστρόπαιος ὁ ἀποθανὼν οὐκ ἔσται, ὑμῖν δὲ ἐνθύμιος γενήσεται. 3, α, 2 : τῷ δὲ ἀποθανόντι αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνθύμιον, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσι προσέθηκεν.

(c) Of pangs of conscience for having condemned an innocent man to death. Antiphon 3, δ, 9: ἔχοντός γε δὴ τὴν δίκην τοῦ φονέως, οὐκ ἔαν ἀπολύσητε ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔαν καταλάβητε, ἐνθύμιον ὑπολείψεσθε. . . . δὲ καθαρὸς τῆς αἰτίας ὅδε ἔαν διαφθαρῇ, τοῖς καταλαμβάνουσι μεῖζον τὸ ἐνθύμιον γενήσεται.

The *Etymologicum Gudianum* contains this remark, p. 189: τὸ δὲ ἐνθύμιον ἐτίθετο ἀντὶ τοῦ προστροπαίου¹ παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντιφῶν [2, γ, 10] ἐν τοῖς φοινικοῖς,² τεθνεὼς οὐτος, ‘ὑμῖν ἐνθύμιος γενήσεται.’ Nowhere else in the Greek lexicographers is there any mention of this use of ἐνθύμιος, which is found four times in Antiphon.

2. Of a scruple that troubles the mind concerning some future act. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 722:

ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ σοὶ τόδ' ἔστ' ἐνθύμιον,
οἱ δειμάτων ἔξωθεν ἐκπορεύομεν
σὸν μητρὶ παῖδας.

3. Of a sign or omen by which the displeasure of the gods is made manifest. Hdt. 2, 175: τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οὐά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιν ἐνθύμιον³ ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. Thuc. 7, 50: καὶ μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτοίμα ἦν, ἀποπλεῖν ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γάρ πασσέληνος οὐσα. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ τε πλείους ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι, καὶ δὲ Νικίας (ἥν γάρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος) οὐδὲ ἀν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔτι ἔφη.

The meanings given under 2 and 3 are not noted by the Greek lexicographers.

It is clear from the etymology of ἐνθύμιος and from its use in a non-religious sense that the word did not begin its career in the sphere of religion. In this purely secular sense ἐνθύμιος, properly denoting that which occupies the mind, was used of a subject of anxiety or care.⁴

From this use of ἐνθύμιος in connection with anxiety or care was

¹ τροπαῖον ed. Sturz; προστροπαῖον coni. ego.

² Φοινικοῖς ed. Sturz; corr. ego.

³ ἐνθυμιστὸν codd. plur.; ἐσθυμιστὸν R; ἐνθυμητὸν Bekker; ἐνθύμιον Valckenaer.

⁴ Cf. Hom. ν 421 f.; Soph. *Trach.* 105 f.; Eur. *Ion* 1347 f.

developed its application to matters of conscience. The transition from the one use to the other was easy and natural, and marked the entrance of the word into the domain of religion. Ἐνθύμος was used of the pangs of conscience which a person felt for some offence or wrong that he had committed, or for some duty that he had neglected. The cause of the mental suffering might be an offence against religion, as when Xerxes burned the temple on the Athenian acropolis.¹ Or the pangs of conscience might be such as jurors would suffer if they should allow the death of a murdered man to go unavenged,² or, on the other hand, if they should condemn to death one unjustly charged with murder.³ Although in the cases just referred to the misdeed which grieves the conscience is in the past, ἐνθύμος may be used of a scruple that troubles the mind concerning some future act.⁴ Again, since matters of conscience are closely connected in men's minds with thoughts of divine revelation, it is not surprising to find ἐνθύμος sometimes used of a sign or omen by which the displeasure of the gods is made known.⁵

As has been said above, ἐνθύμος, in etymology and sometimes in use, is not a religious word. But, nevertheless, it readily came into the service of religion, and in the extant literature its prevailing use is religious. It does not, however, seem to have taken on this character until the fifth century B.C.

Παλαμναῖος

This word is used seven times in the literature of our period, and its meanings may be classified as follows :

1. Of those who cause the death of another. From Aeschylus down.
1. Of murderers. Aesch. *Eum.* 448 :

ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος,
εἴς τ' ἀν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἷματος καθαρσίου
σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλουν βοτοῦν.

¹ Cf. Hdt. 8, 54.

² Cf. Antiphon 2, γ, 10; 3, α, 2.

³ Cf. *id.* 3, δ, 9.

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 722 f.

⁵ Cf. Thuc. 7, 50.

Soph. *El.* 585 :

εἰ γὰρ θέλεις, δίδαξον ἀνθ' ὅτου ταῦν
αἰσχιστα πάντων ἔργα δρῶσα τυγχάνεις,
ἥτις ἔννείδεις τῷ παλαμναίφ, μεθ' οὐ
πατέρᾳ τὸν ἀμὸν πρόσθεν ἔξαπώλεσας,
καὶ παιδοποιεῖς.

Soph. *Trach.* 1216 :

οἵμοι μάλ' αὐθίς, ολά μ' ἐκκαλεῖ, πάτερ,
φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ παλαμναῖον σέθεν.

In Hyperides *Frag.* 85 (Biass), which consists merely in the citation of the word *παλαμναῖος*, Harpocration says that it means 'murderer.'

The following Greek lexicographers mention this meaning : Harp. *s. v.* : *παλαμναῖος* . 'Υπερεῖδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου. τοὺς αὐτοχειρίδι τινὰς ἀνελόντας τῇ παλάμῃ παλαμναίους ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ Αἴνοκλεῖδης ἐν τῷ ἔξιγγητικῷ ὑποσημαίνει. Hesych. *s. v.* : *παλαμναῖος* . ἀποτρόπαιος, σκληρός, φονεύς, ὁ αὐτοχειρίδι τινὰ ἀνελών. ὁ ἐνεχόμενος μάσματι οἰκείφ. Phot. *s. v.* : *παλαμναῖος* . φονεὺς ἢ μαρός . παλαμναῖοι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες . παρὰ τὴν παλάμην. Photius rightly explains the etymology of the word. Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 293, 12 : *παλαμναῖος* . πικρὸς καὶ φόνιος καὶ σοβαρός. Suid. *s. v.* : *παλαμναῖος* . φονεὺς ἢ μαρός. παλαμναῖοι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες, παρὰ τὴν παλάμην. It would seem that Photius and Suidas here follow the same source, rather than that the latter borrowed from the former.¹ E. M. 647, 48 : *παλαμναῖος*, φονεύς, ἀντίθετος τῷ θεῷ, μεμασμένος, πικρός, φόνιος, σοβαρός. . . . γίνεται πάλαμνος, καὶ παλαμναῖος ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Eust. p. 586, 1 : ιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἀπάλαμνον λέγει τὸν ἄπειρον καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα τεχνάσσοθαί τι, ὡς οἰον ἄχειρα καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα παλαίειν ἢ παλαμᾶσθαι τι, οὐ ἀνάπαλιν παλαμναῖος οὐ μόνον κοινότερον ὁ βριαρόχειρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ αὐτοχειρὶ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς φονεύων.

The following authorities define *παλαμναῖος* as 'one who is defiled with some guilt': *Anecd. Gr. Ox.* I, p. 357, 8 : σημαίνει δύο . . . καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ μάσματι κατεχόμενος. E. M. 649, 11 : β· . . . καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ μάσματι κατεχόμενος. The *Etymologicum Magnum* here follows

¹ Cf. Cohn in Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 595.

the work called 'Ομήρου Ἐπιμερισμοί'. Eust. p. 586, 3: *καὶ τινι μά-σματι ἔνοχος*.

In the extant literature, however, of the period here treated *παλα-μναῖος* is used only in reference to the guilt of murder.

2. Of an informer, whose disclosures caused certain persons to be put to death. Phryn. Com. 58 (Kock):

ῳ φίλταθ' Ἐρμῆ, καὶ φυλάγτου, μὴ πεσὼν
σαυτὸν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχῃς διαβολὴν
ἔτέρῳ Διοκλειδῷ βουλομένῳ κακόν τι δρᾶν.

ΕΡΜ. φυλάξομαι. Τεύκρῳ γάρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι
μήνυτρα δοῦναι τῷ παλαμναῖῳ ξένῳ.

This meaning is not mentioned by the Greek lexicographers.

II. Of the divinities who visit homicides with vengeance. In Xenophon only, *Cyr.* 8, 7, 18:¹ τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀδικα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὐπω κατενοήσατε οἶους μὲν φόβους τοῖς μαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἶους δὲ παλαμναῖους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι;

In a work falsely ascribed to Plato *δαίμονες παλαμναῖοι* are mentioned.² But since this treatise is later than 300 B.C.,³ I merely mention this example.

It is recorded by two lexicographers that *παλαμναῖος* was used of divine beings, but it is not referred specifically to the divinities who avenge homicide: Poll. 1, 24: (*θεοὶ*) παλαμναῖοι, προστρόπαιοι. *id.* 5, 131: οἱ δὲ δαίμονες οἱ μὲν λύοντες τὰς ἀρᾶς ἀλεξίκακοι λέγονται, ἀπο-πομπαῖοι, ἀποτρόπαιοι, λύσιοι, φύξιοι, οἱ δὲ κυροῦντες ἀλιτήριοι, ἀλι-τηριώδεις, προστρόπαιοι, παλαμναῖοι. Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 297, 13 (Δέξιος Ἀριστοφάνεις): παλαμναῖους θεούς· τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν ἀδικημάτων.

Others say that *παλαμναῖος* was used of avengers of murders, but they do not restrict its use to the avenging divinities: *Anecd. Gr. Ox.* I, p. 357, 8 ('Ομήρου Ἐπιμερισμοί'): σημαίνει δύο· ὁ τοὺς αὐτόχειρας τιμωρούμενος. *E. Gud.*, p. 628: παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύ-

¹ Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*³, p. 277, n. 2; Zacher in *Dissertationes Philologae Halenses*, III, pp. 232 ff.

² Cf. [Plat.] *Tim. Locr.* 105 A.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 171 f.

σαντας τιμωρούμενος.¹ *E. M.* 647, 43: παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος.¹ 649, 11: ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος.¹ But, so far as the extant literature of the period now under consideration is concerned, *παλαμναῖος* in its application to avengers of homicide is used only of avenging divinities.

It is said, however, by some Greek writers on lexicography that Zeus was called *παλαμναῖος*, because he was thought to be an avenger of murder. Phot. *s. v.*: καὶ Ζεὺς παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς τοιούτους τιμωρούμενος.² So Suid. *s. v.* *E. Gud.*, p. 449: παλαμναῖος, παρὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀμάν· ἡ παλαίειν μετὰ μένους. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδi. Cf. *E. M.* 647, 44. Also *E. Gud.*, p. 628: καὶ Ζεὺς παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδi. The place in which this epithet of Zeus was used is given by no other lexicographer. Eust. p. 586, 3: καὶ Ζεὺς δέ, φασι, παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς φονεῖς καταρρίπτων.³

Although in the extant writings of the period to which the present study is limited no example of such a use is found, in a work erroneously ascribed to Aristotle *παλαμναῖος* is given as one among a number of epithets applied to Zeus.⁴ It is generally admitted that the tractate *De Mondo* is not from the hand of Aristotle and that it was written after 300 B.C. But none of the attempts to identify the author has met with general acceptance.⁵

III. Of the guilt with which murderers are defiled. In Euripides only. *Eur. I. T.* 1217:

ΙΦ. ἡνίκ' ἀν δ' ἔξω περῶσιν οἱ ξένοι. ΘΟ. τί χρή με δρᾶν;
ΙΦ. πέπλον ὁμμάτων προθέσθαι. ΘΟ. μὴ παλαμναῖον λάβω;

This meaning is not mentioned by the lexicographers. There are, moreover, certain meanings of *παλαμναῖος* which are given in Greek lexica, but which are not found in any author of the period here treated. Such are the following: Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 193, 10 (Δικῶν

¹ On the connection between the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum* cf. Cohn in Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 597 f.

² On the connection between Photius and Suidas cf. *supra*, p. 176.

³ Cf. Eust. p. 586, 4 (*infra*, p. 179).

⁴ Cf. [Arist.] *De Mondo*, 7, p. 401, a, 12.

⁵ Cf. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁴, p. 486; Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, II, p. 326 f.

'Ονόματα κατὰ Ἀλφάβητον): παλαμναῖος· ὁ δαίμων ὁ τὰ μύση καὶ τὰ μάσματα ἀποτρέπων.¹ E. Guid., p. 449: καὶ ἀσπὶς δέ τις τῶν θηρίων παλαμναῖος καλεῖται, ὁ διὰ χειρὸς καταγωνιζόμενος τὴν μάχην· παρὰ τὸ παλαμάν. Id., p. 628: καὶ ἀσπὶς δέ τις τῶν θηρίων λέγεται παλαμναία· καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔχθρος καὶ πολέμος· παλαμναῖος δὲ κυρίως καλεῖται ὁ διὰ χειρῶν καταγωνιζόμενος τὴν μάχην καὶ πάλην. E. M. 647, 46: καὶ ὁ ἔχθρος δὲ καὶ πολέμος παλαμναῖος καλεῖται, ὁ διὰ χειρῶν καταγωνιζόμενος τὴν μάχην, παρὰ τὴν παλάμην. Eust. p. 586, 4: καὶ τις δέ, φασι, κατὰ θηρίων ἀσπὶς παλαμναία ἐκαλεῖτο. Φυσορὰ δὲ λέξις δεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι δίχα Διὸς ὁ παλαμναῖος, οὐ μὴν οὐτῶ καὶ ὁ ἀπάλαμνος.

The root of *παλαμναῖος* is *παλ*,² and it is seen in the following Greek words: *παλάμη*, beside which the form *παλάμνα* seems once to have existed; *ἀπάλαμνος*, and *παλαμναῖος*. It also appears in the Latin *palma* and in the Sanskrit *pānī* = *manus*. The latter seems to have arisen from **palni*.

Παλαμναῖος commonly means *murderer*, properly denoting one who kills another with his own hand.³ In one of the examples, however, the comic poet Phrynicus uses the word adjectivally of the informer Teucrus, whose disclosures in regard to the profanation of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Hermae resulted in the putting to death of several persons.⁴ This use is a natural extension of the primary meaning of the word. Since homicides were believed to be pursued and tormented by avenging divinities, *παλαμναῖος*, like *ἀλιτήριος*⁵ and *προστρόπαιος*,⁶ was transferred from the guilty perpetrators to the divine avengers of the crime.⁷ Unlike *προστρόπαιος*,⁸ however, *παλαμναῖος* is not used of the spirits of murdered persons. Again, from its application to murderers *παλαμναῖος* was transferred to the guilt with which

¹ Cf. Poll. 5, 131 (*supra*, p. 177).

² On the etymology of *παλαμναῖος* cf. Johannes Schmidt, *Kritik der Sonantentheorie*, p. 106.

³ Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 448 f.; Soph. *El.* 585 f.

⁴ Cf. Phryn. Com. 58 (Kock). The translation *abominable*, which is given by L. and S. s. v., is inexact. See Andoc. *De Myst.* 34.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 161.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 185.

⁷ Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 7, 18.

⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 186.

they are defiled.¹ A similar development is seen in the case of *προστρόπαιος*.² Etymologically *παλαμναῖος* has no religious connotation; but, through its association with homicide and the divinities who visited murderers with vengeance, it became a religious word.

Προστρόπαιος

This word is found twenty-one times in the authors before 300 B.C., and is used in the following senses:

I. Of suppliants. In Aeschylus and Sophocles.

The Greek authorities rightly note this meaning: Hesych. *s. v.*: *προστροπαῖον*. *ἴκετενσίμων*, *καὶ ἰκετῶν*. Phot. *s. v.*: *προστρόπαιος*. *παρακαλῶν*. Suid. *s. v.*: *προστροπαῖον*. ‘*ἡ δὲ ζώσα βίον τὸν προστρόπαιον γυναικί*’ ἀντὶ τοῦ *ἴκετικόν*. *προστρόπαιος προστετραμμένος*, *ἴκέτης, παρακαλῶν*. Σοφοκλῆς ‘*θάκει δὲ προστρόπαιος, ἐν χεροῦ ἔχων κόμας ἐμὰς καὶ τῆσδε καὶ σαντοῦ τρίτου, ἱκτήριον θησαυρόν,*’³ *ἴκεσιον κτήμα, ὃ ἔστι τὰς τρίχας. καὶ αὐθὶς ‘καὶ προστροπαῖονς τῶν δὲ ἐκείνον ἡτυχηκότων.’ Eust. p. 1807, 11: *τοιοῦτον καὶ ὃ προστρόπαιος, ἐπεὶ μέσως ἔχει καὶ αὐτός. . . . καὶ προστρόπαιος ὁ ἱκέτης, ὃ πρός τινα δηλαδὴ δεητικῶς τρεπόμενος.**

I. Of a suppliant seeking absolution from homicide. Aesch. *Eum.* 40:

ὅρῳ δ' ἐπ' ὅμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ
ἔδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον, αἰματὶ⁴
στάζοντα χείρας καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ἔιφος
ἔχοντ' ἐλαίας θ' ὑψιγένητον κλάδον,
λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνῳς ἐστεμμένον,
ἀργῆτι μαλλῷ.

Aesch. *Eum.* 232:

ἔγὼ δ' ἀρήξω τὸν ἱκέτην τε ῥύσομαι·
δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κάν θεοῖς πέλει
τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφὴ ἐκών.

Hesychius *s. v.* probably refers to this meaning: *καὶ πρός τινα τρεπόμενος δεήσει καθάρσεως.*

¹ Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1217 f.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 185.

³ Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1173 f.

2. Of a suppliant seeking safety. Aesch. *Agam.* 1587:

καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολὼν πάλιν
τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν ηῦρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,
τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῷον αἰμάξαι πέδον.

3. Of persons or things that supplicate for some other reason.
Soph. *Aj.* 1171:

ἄπαι, πρόσελθε δεῦρο, καὶ σταθεὶς πέλας
ἰκέτης ἔφαψαι πατρός, ὃς σ' ἐγείνατο.
Θάκει δὲ προστρόπαιος ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων
κόμας ἐμὰς καὶ τῆσδε καὶ σαντοῦ τρίτου,
ἰκτήριον θησαυρόν.

Soph. *O. C.* 1309:

σοὶ προστροπαίους, ὡς πάτερ, λιτὰς ἔχων
αὐτός τ' ἐμαντοῦν ἐνυμάχων τε τῶν ἐμῶν,
οἱ νῦν σὺν ἐπτὰ τάξεσιν σὺν ἐπτά τε
λόγχαις τὸ Θήβης πεδίον ἀμφεστᾶσι πᾶν.

Soph. *Phil.* 929:

οὐδὲν ἐπαισχύνει μ' ὅρῶν
τὸν προστρόπαιον, τὸν ἱκέτην, ὡς σχέτλε;
ἀπεστέρηκας τὸν βίον τὰ τόξ' ἐλών.
ἀπόδος, ἱκνοῦμαί σ', ἀπόδος, ἱκετεύω, τέκνον.

II. Of those who are guilty of some crime. From Aeschylus down.

1. Of murderers. Aesch. *Eum.* 174:

κάμοί γε λυπρός, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται,
ὑπό τε γάν φυγῶν οὐ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται.
ποτιτρόπαιος¹ ὥν δ' ἔτερον ἐν κάρᾳ
μάστορ' ἔγγενὴ πάσεται.

Aesch. *Eum.* 235:

ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, Λοξίου κελεύμασιν
ῆκω, δέχον δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα,
οὐ προστρόπαιον οὐδὲ ἀφοίβαντον χέρα.

¹ This is the only occurrence of the Doric ποτιτρόπαιος in the literature of the period here treated.

Aesch. *Eum.* 445 :

οὐκ ἀμὲν προστρόπαιος, οὐδὲ ἵχων μύσος
πρὸς χειρὶ τῆμῷ τὸ σὸν ἐφεξόμην βρέας.

Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1258 :

πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἐγενόμην ὅστις κτανὼν
μητρὸς γεραιὸν πατέρα προστρόπαιος ὁν
ἔγημε τὴν τεκοῦσαν Ἀλκμήνην ἐμέ.

Hesychius *s. v.* gives this meaning : προστρόπαιος. φόνος, μαρός,
αἷματι μεμιασμένος.

2. Of one who has committed some crime against the state. Eupolis 120 (Kock) :

ον χρῆν ἐν τε ταῖς τριόδοις κάν τοῖς ὀξυθυμίοις
προστρόπαιον¹ τῆς πόλεως κάεσθαι τετριγότα.

III. Of the guilt with which guilty persons are defiled. In Euripides and Aeschines.

This meaning is noted by the lexicographers : Harp. *s. v.* : προστρόπαιον. Αἰσχίνης περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ‘έσατε οὖν αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον προστρόπαιον’² ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγος καὶ τὸ μίασμα. Suid. *s. v.* : προστρόπαιον τὸ ἄγος, τὸ μίασμα. οὗτος Αἰσχίνης. Lex. *Vindobon.* *s. v.* : προστρόπαιον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγος καὶ μίασμα, ὅθεν καὶ προστροπή. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. There is obviously some error here, for Demosthenes wrote no oration against Ctesiphon. At first sight it is tempting to write ὑπέρ in place of κατά, but προστρόπαιος does not occur in Demosthenes's speech *On the Crown* (ὑπέρ Κτησιφῶντος). Nor would one be justified in substituting Αἰσχίνης for Δημοσθένης, because Aeschines does not use προστρόπαιος in his oration *Against Ctesiphon* (κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος).

1. Of the guilt of murder. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1160 :

αἰσχύνομαι γάρ τοῖς δεδραμένοις κακοῖς
καὶ τῷδε προστρόπαιον αἷμα προσβαλὼν
οὐδὲν κακῶσαι τὸν ἀναιτίους θέλω.

¹ πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον codd.; corr. Valesius.

² Cf. Aeschin. 2, 158.

Eur. *Ion* 1259:

καν θάνης γὰρ ἐνθάδ' οὖσα, τοῖς ἀποκτείνασί σε
προστρόπαιον αἷμα θήσεις.

2. Of guilt incurred otherwise than by murder. Aeschin. 2, 158: ἔάστετε οὖν αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ προστρόπαιον, μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πόλεως γε, ἐν ὑμῖν ἀναστρέφεσθαι;

III. Of the spirits of the dead or of avenging divinities. From Aeschylus down.

1. Of the spirits of murdered persons, which avenge their death upon the murderers. Aesch. *Cho.* 285¹:

τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινὸν τῶν ἐνεργέρων βέλος
ἐκ προστροπαίων ἐν γένει πεπτωκότων.

Eur. *Heracl.* 1014²:

ἄ γ' εἶπας ἀντήκουσας· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ χρὴ
τὸ προστρόπαιον τόν τε γενναῖον³ καλεῖν.
οὕτω γε μέντοι τάμ' ἔχει· θανεῖν μὲν οὐ
χρῆζω, λιπάνω δ' ἀν οὐδὲν ἀχθούμην βίον.

Antiphon 2, γ, 10: ἀδίκως δ' ἀπολυομένου τούτου ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡμῖν μὲν προστρόπαιος ὁ ἀποθανὼν οὐκ ἔσται, ὑμῖν δὲ ἐνθύμιος γενήσεται. 4, δ, 10: ὁ τε γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τούτου κατακριθέντος⁴ οὐδὲν ἡσσον τοῖς αἰτίοις προστρόπαιος ἔσται.

2. The neuter is also used of the spirit of a murdered person that seeks vengeance for his death. Antiphon 3, δ, 9: ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίας φέρων οὐδὲν οὐδὲν προστρόπαιον καταλεύψει. This meaning seems to have escaped the notice of the Greek lexicographers.

¹ On the interpretation of this passage cf. Rohde, *Psyche*³, I, p. 264, n. 2; L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, I, p. 117. Otherwise, Zacher in *Dissertationes Philologae Halenses*, III, p. 229 f.

² On the interpretation of this passage cf. Paley *in loc.*

³ τὸν παλαμναῖον coni. Kirchhoff.

⁴ Locus manifesto corruptus. ἀποκτείνας τοῦ ἀποθανόντος codd.; ἀποθανὼν Εμperius, Weidner, deletis quae sequuntur verbis τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, pro quibus τούτου ἀποθανόντος restit. Sauppe, Turr.; παθὼν τούτου ἀποθανόντος Blass in marg.; ἀποθανὼν τούτου καταληφθέντος coni. Jernstedt; τεθνηκὼς coni. Rohde; ἀποθανὼν τούτου κατακριθέντος scripsi ego.

3. Of the divinities who avenge murder. *Antiphon 4, a, 4¹*: *ἥμεῖς τε οἱ τιμωροὶ τῶν δεφθαρμένων, εἰ δὲ ἀλλην τινὰ ἔχθραν τοὺς ἀναιτίους διώκομεν, τῷ μὲν ἀποθανόντι οὐ τιμωροῦντες δεινοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἔξομεν τοὺς τῶν ἀποθανόντων προστροπάσιν.* 4, β, 8¹: *ἀδίκως μὲν γὰρ ἀπολυθεῖς, διὰ τὸ μὴ δρθῶς ὑμᾶς διδαχθῆναι ἀποφυγών, τοῦ μὴ δεδάξαντος καὶ οὐχ ὑμέτερον τὸν προστρόπαιον τοῦ ἀποθανόντος καταστήσω.*

Some lexicographers refer *προστρόπαιος* to divine beings, but they do not restrict its use to the divinities who avenge murder: Poll. 1, 24: (*θεοί*) *παλαμναῖοι, προστρόπαιοι.* 5, 131: *οἱ δὲ δαίμονες οἱ μὲν λύοντες τὰς ἀρὰς ἀλεξίκακοι λέγονται, ἀποπομπαῖοι, ἀποτρόπαιοι, λύσιοι, φύξιοι, οἱ δὲ κυροῦντες ἀλιτήριοι, ἀλιτηριώδεις, προστρόπαιοι, παλαμναῖοι.* Bekk. *Anecd.* I, p. 296, 4: *προστρόπαιος· δαίμων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν.* Photius *s. v.*: *προστρόπαιος· δαίμων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετὰ τὸ σταθῆναι ἥδη τὸ πρόπαιον οἱ ἀναιροῦντες τινα τῶν πολεμίων προστρόπαιοι καὶ ἐναγεῖς εἰσίν.* Photius, however, seems to have followed the work called *Δέξεις Ρήγορικα.*

Photius and Suidas give the following meaning for *προστρόπαιος*, but it is not found in the extant literature of our period. Photius *s. v.* *παλαμναῖος*: *καὶ προστρόπαιος (Ζεὺς) ὁ προστρέπων τὸ ἄγος αὐτοῖς.*² Suidas *s. v.* *παλαμναῖος*: *καὶ προστρόπαιος (Ζεὺς) ὁ προστρέπων τὸ ἄγος αὐτοῖς.*²

Eustathius mentions still another meaning of the word, but of this there is no example in the writers of the period under consideration; Eust. p. 1807, 11: *προστρόπαιός τε γὰρ Ζεὺς ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ, φῶν τις, φασι, προστρέποιτο δεόμενος.*³

According to its etymology *προστρόπαιος* means *turning toward*.⁴ In times of need men turned for help or deliverance to the altars of the gods, and of such suppliants the Greeks naturally used the word *προστρόπαιος*. Sometimes the suppliant sought absolution from the stain of homicide,⁵ or again safety might be the object of his petition.⁶ The

¹ On the interpretation of this passage cf. Zacher, *op. cit.* III, p. 223; L. Schmidt, *op. cit.* I, p. 215 f.; Rohde, *op. cit.* I, pp. 264, n. 2, and 275, n. 2.

² Cf. Poll. 5, 131 (*supra*). On the connection between Photius and Suidas cf. *supra*, p. 176.

³ Cf. *ἀράος* (*supra*, pp. 167 and 169).

⁴ For another view see Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 86, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 40 f. and 232 f.

⁶ Cf. *id. Agam.* 1587 f.

use of *προστρόπαιος*, however, is by no means limited to these classes of suppliants; for the word is several times employed by Sophocles to denote those who make supplication for some other reason.¹ From this primary application of *προστρόπαιος* to suppliants seeking purification from guilt the word was extended to those who were guilty of some crime, even though they did not seek absolution. Thus it is used several times of murderers² and once of an offender against the state.³ This secondary application of the word to homicides and other criminals gave rise to another use of *προστρόπαιος*. It was transferred from the guilty persons and used to denote the guilt with which they were defiled.⁴ This guilt might be incurred by committing murder or some other crime. A similar mental process is seen in the case of *παλαμναῖος* as applied to the guilt of murderers.⁵

It will be recalled that *προστρόπαιος* was sometimes used of murderers. Since they were supposed to be harassed and tormented by the spirits of their victims, *προστρόπαιος* was transferred from the guilty murderer to the avenging spirit of the murdered person.⁶ So, too, the neuter *προστρόπαιον* is once used of the spirit of a murdered man that seeks vengeance for his death.⁷

Like *ἀλιτήριος*⁸ and *παλαμναῖος*,⁹ *προστρόπαιος* was transferred from the homicide to the divinities whose function it was to avenge murder. Of this use there are only two examples in the literature of this period.¹⁰ So far as etymology is concerned *προστρόπαιος* has no religious connotation, but through its being applied to suppliants it acquired such significance from the first and retained it throughout the period to which this study is devoted.

'*Ἀλιτήριος*, *παλαμναῖος*, and *προστρόπαιος* are used of the divinities who were believed to pursue murderers and exact vengeance for their

¹ Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1171 f.; *Phil.* 929 f.

² Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 174 f.; Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1258 f.

³ Cf. Eupolis 120 (Kock).

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1160 f.; Aeschin. 2, 158.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 179 f.

⁶ Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 285 f.; Antiphon 2, γ, 10.

⁷ Cf. *id.* 3, δ, 9.

⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 161.

⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 179.

¹⁰ Cf. Antiphon 4, α, 4, and 4, β, 8.

crimes.¹ Among the words there is no essential difference of meaning.² This conception is similar to that of the Erinyes. But the divinities designated by *ἀλιτήριος*, *παλαμναῖος*, and *προστρόπαιος* are less poetically conceived and are more limited in the scope of their activity. For the latter avenged only homicide, whereas the Erinyes punished other crimes also.³ The belief in such avenging divinities is a religious explanation of the phenomenon of conscience.

Προστρόπαιος is also used of the spirits of murdered persons, which pursue homicides with vengeance.⁴ The use of the word in this sense indicates a belief that the soul survives death and lives on in a disembodied state endowed with recollection and the power of action. It was thought still to have some relation to the living and to exercise power over them. This belief that the spirit of his victim haunts the mind of the murderer and seeks for vengeance, was due to an attempt to account for the pangs of conscience which the guilty suffer. Such real and persistent torments must needs have a personal cause, and were most easily and naturally referred to the outraged spirit of the victim. This is an instance of the common tendency of the human mind to personify unseen forces and powers. Though this belief must have arisen in early times, it continued during the fifth century and probably much later to be for the mass of men a plausible explanation of the accusing conscience.

'*Ἐνθύμιος*, like the cognate substantive *ἐνθυμία*,⁵ also has reference to the conscience; but here no personification has taken place.

'*Ἀλιτήριος*, *ἀλιτρός*, and *προστρόπαιος* are used of those who have committed some offence or crime, and are accordingly regarded as sinful or wicked. *Παλαμναῖος*, however, is restricted to cases of homicide.

'*Ἀραῖος* and *ἐναγγῆς* are used of accursed persons. The former connotes the *imprecation* to which such persons were subject, whereas the latter suggests rather the *taint* with which they were defiled.

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 161, 179, and 185.

² Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*³, I, p. 276, n.

³ Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, 1320 f.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 185.

⁵ Cf. Thuc. 5, 16.

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